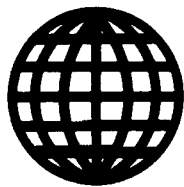


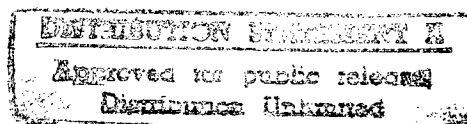
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21 MAY 1993



**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia



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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Gazans Condemn, Defend Murder of Jewish Lawyer

93AA0038A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
19 Apr 93 p 2

[Article by Eytan Rabin, Yosi Torpstein, and Yehudit Grinblatt: "Feinberg Worked as an Adviser to an Investment Center in the Strip; Figures in Gaza Condemn the Murder"]

[Text] Attorney Ian Feinberg, the Israeli citizen who was murdered yesterday in the Gaza Strip, was a new immigrant from South Africa, who lived in Ramat Gan. He had served as a legal adviser for the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] in the Gaza region and was involved in matters of taxation. Feinberg, aged 30, had lived in the country for several years.

Employees in the military prosecutor's office in Gaza said yesterday that they knew Ian Feinberg well. According to them, the subject was "a sturdy fellow who was not afraid of anything." At the beginning of the intifadah, Feinberg was injured slightly in a stone-throwing incident. In 1991, he was discharged with the rank of major from regular service in the military prosecutor's office.

In the framework of his work, he would arrive in Gaza, where he worked as an adviser for the center of economic investments in the Strip. This is an investment company, which transfers monies from the Common Market and other entities, to encourage projects in the territories. Feinberg had a gun permit and had a gun, which he did not have the chance to use yesterday.

Last night at 2030 a policeman went to the home of the Feinberg family on Aaronson Street in Ramat Gan, and gave the bad news to the attorney's wife, 'Ofra. The woman burst out crying and shouting, saying: "Ian helped the Arabs all the time. He loved them." In the apartment at that time were the couple's three children. The eldest, aged four and a half, underwent open-heart surgery more than a month ago.

Condemnations of the Murder

Palestinian figures in Gaza responded yesterday with dismay, confusion, and even anger, to the murder of the Jewish attorney in Gaza. The common opinion is that it was forbidden to murder the man, who gave legal advice to the Palestinian national institution, which operates for the benefit of the Palestinians. Many condemned the act unequivocally.

Palestinian sources in Gaza said that the Palestinian participants in the meeting in the office of the investment center, including the managers of the office, asked the murderers not to harm the Israeli because he was under their protection and was helping them in their

work, but the two murderers stabbed the Israeli with a knife and hacked him with axes.

The sources said that the participants in the meeting in the C.D. [Corporation for Development] office also included persons who are close politically or have family ties to the Fatah and Popular Front organizations. The managers of the office in Gaza are 'Ahad Basiso, the brother of 'Ataf Basiso, one of the senior PLO activists who was murdered a year ago in Paris, and also his female cousin, who was interrogated by the IDF as an eyewitness to the incident. Another of their cousins was arrested a month ago in the Strip, on suspicion of heading the Fatah Eagles squads in the city of Gaza.

One of the reasons for the anger of the Palestinians in Gaza stems from the fact that the subject is a financial company that assists the economy of the Strip by giving loans for housing and industrial enterprises. C.D. (/Corporation for Development/), is basically a British nongovernmental organization. The heads of the organization are British and the person responsible for the Gaza Strip for the corporation is Terry Lacey.

However, the decisive majority of the employees are Palestinian residents of the territories. Among the five financial corporations that have been operating for several years with similar methods in the territories, C.D. is the only corporation whose heads are foreign.

The financing for the operations of C.D. comes from Britain and from the European Common Market. The company grants loans on easy terms to local entrepreneurs who seek to establish industrial enterprises or housing.

'Murder for Its Own Sake'

Dr. Zakhriya El-'Ara of Gaza, a member of the Palestinian delegation to the peace process, yesterday condemned the murder. He said: "We are coming out against any murder for its own sake and oppose such attacks on the life of an innocent man, whether he is Israeli or Palestinian." In his opinion, such a murder must not have any influence on the peace process. He said that the act also had no connection with the Palestinians' demand that the closure on the territories be lifted as one of the conditions for their participation in the negotiations.

According to him, "the closure must be lifted in any event, because an entire population must not be punished for the acts of a few. Those responsible must be apprehended and punished." Dr. El-'Ara added that the closure and the harsh, violent, and degrading actions that are being carried out by IDF forces in the Strip, are enraging the population.

He added that "local public opinion is pressuring the delegation not to participate in the negotiations as long as such acts continue. The people have lost their faith in the intentions of the Israeli Government to make peace with them."

Dr. 'Atz'am E-Shawa, the manager of the American organization [UNRA] in the Strip, an organization that is financed by the American aid plan and engages in encouraging and financing economic projects, also sharply condemned the murder. "I did not think that I would live to see such days, when innocent persons are murdered in this manner," said the 75-year-old E-Shawa, a scion of one of the most prestigious families in the Strip. "According to the laws of Islam, a man may be killed only on the basis of the rules of truth and the testimony of four witnesses. What was the crime of this Israeli, whose work even aided the Palestinians? Such deeds make me pessimistic, even though I am by nature an optimistic man," he said.

The European Community has been acting for several years to develop projects in the Gaza Strip, with a budget of approximately \$15,000,000 per year. Israel gave its blessings to the European initiative, and even is asking the European Community to invest larger sums in the Strip. A special representative of the European Community for affairs of the territories, Thomas Dople, is stationed in Brussels. Dople comes to Israel every few months in order to supervise the work that is being carried out with its financing.

Centralizing Jerusalem on Palestinian Agenda

93AA0038B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
14 Apr 93 p B3

[Article by Yosi Torpstein: "Armed With 242"]

[Text] Two events recently gave prominence to a central topic in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which until now the Israelis strived to obscure and to eliminate from the framework of the peace negotiations: the status of Jerusalem. The first of them is the prolonged closure that was imposed on the territories, during which it became clear that Jerusalem, which was cut off from the West Bank, created a division between the south of the West Bank and its north—"cantons," the Palestinians called it—and that it is a vital link in the fabric of Palestinian life.

To the Palestinians, Jerusalem is their capital and in it are their central institutions, including those of the Palestinian delegation. Many residents of the West Bank pass through it, are employed in it, and study in its educational institutions.

The second event was the breach of the "Madrid formula" concerning Jerusalem by the almost certain addition of Feysal Al-Husayny, a Jerusalem resident and chief of the Palestinian team to the peace process, as an official member of the Palestinian delegation. According to this formula, whose rules were established by the Americans mainly under Israel's pressure, only Palestinians who live in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip may be included among the 14 members of the official Palestinian delegation.

This right was denied to the residents of East Jerusalem because the Israel government at the time, under the

Likud's leadership, sought to prevent recognition of the Palestinians' right to raise the issue of Jerusalem in the negotiations for interim arrangements. Israel's position was that Jerusalem would remain united under Israeli sovereignty, and that the city would not be included in any way in the Palestinian autonomy.

The chiefs of the Labor Party agreed in the past to add representatives from Jerusalem to the Palestinian delegation and to give the residents of East Jerusalem the right to vote in the elections to the institutions of the autonomy, but not the right to be elected to them. Despite this, until recently the government of Yitzhak Rabin continued religiously the policy of the Likud on this matter—for similar reasons.

The issue of Jerusalem links the two main axes of the Palestinian negotiating strategy since the peace process began. One axis is the attempt to disintegrate the Madrid Formula in everything concerning the Palestinian delegation. The formula prevents not only the addition of representatives of Jerusalem, the Palestinian diaspora in the world, and the PLO to the delegation, but also the inclusion of the subject of Jerusalem in the negotiations on interim arrangements.

The Palestinians saw in the formula's rules degrading conditions, to which they were compelled to consent in order to begin the peace process, but in which from the beginning they did not intend to acquiesce.

In October 1991, a few days before the Madrid conference, Dr. Sari Nuseyba, one of the outstanding and moderate leaders, said in a public symposium in Jerusalem that "the delegation is entering the negotiations without having succeeded in obtaining anything, not the right of self determination, not East Jerusalem, not an end to the settlements, not [the] PLO." The internal opposition in the PLO, which is led by the Marxist left-wing organizations, still opposes the Palestinian participation in the process, to a great extent on the background of "those disgraceful conditions."

Immediately upon the opening of the rounds of negotiations in December 1991, the Palestinians consequently initiated "the crisis of the hallway discussions," and they succeeded in obtaining, as it was put by Hanan Ashrawi, the delegation's spokeswoman, "equal status with the other delegations" and de facto separation from the Jordanian delegation. They also succeeded in making possible the entry of PLO members, who are accompanying the bilateral negotiations, into the U.S.A.

At the founding conference of the multilateral negotiations in Moscow, in January 1992, the Palestinians initiated another crisis around the question of the inclusion of representatives of Jerusalem and the Palestinian diaspora in the delegation, but they did not succeed in realizing their goal. A similar crisis was initiated by the Palestinians at the round of multilateral negotiations in October. They raised the subject repeatedly in their contacts with James Baker and with Warren Christopher and also in the negotiations with the Israelis.

The second axis in the Palestinian negotiating strategy is expressed in the striving to give the autonomous Palestinian entity a practical dimension of "a state in the making" in all of the territories that are called "the territories," including East Jerusalem. A striking expression of this is the stubborn digging in by the Palestinians behind the demand to extend the spirit of U.N. Resolution 242, which in their opinion requires an Israeli withdrawal from all of the territories that were conquered in 1967, also to the interim arrangements—in contradiction to the Israeli position and to agreed conclusions, which in its opinion were determined before the beginning of the process. The Palestinians also demanded the granting of legislative authority to their administration. They also persisted in demanding deep and active intervention in the negotiations on the part of the U.S.A. in order to attempt with its assistance to pressure Israel into accepting the Palestinian interpretation of 242.

The Palestinian strategic goal is completely clear: the establishment of a state. That is not the case in Israel. It seems that there the goal is the negation of a Palestinian state and the strengthening of security control in the territories, but it does not have in mind a clear diplomatic alternative to the status quo, for which it should strive.

Hence also the disagreements between the Palestinians and the Israelis in the conception of the negotiations. While the Palestinians call for "an inclusive negotiation on principles" first, and only afterwards a practical discussion of details, the Israelis take the opposite approach. According to Israel, the best way to settle the basic divisions is through the route of the practical test of specific negotiations on the transfer of authority in a few areas of life. Up to now, the Americans have also supported this position.

But such a discussion does not interest the Palestinians at this time. There are interested in ensuring first of all an irreversible interim settlement, which will bring after a transition period the establishment of a Palestinian state, whose capital will be Jerusalem. They fear that after the Arab states conclude agreements with Israel and the international community gets involved in other pressing concerns, it will be more difficult to raise again the question of the Palestinian state, for which in any event there are not many takers today, not even Arab states.

The last round of the talks in Washington, the eighth one, ended in December with the Palestinians' declarations that they do not intend to return to the negotiating table if Israel will not change its position on the applicability of Resolution 242 to the interim arrangements. They rejected the Israeli proposal for dividing the control over land and the judicial system into regions under Palestinian control, regions under Israeli control, and regions under joint Israeli-Palestinian control. They also

demanded that Israel cease settlement actions in the Jerusalem region and in all of what Rabin defined as "security settlements."

The expulsion of the 415 Islamic activists offered the Palestinians a golden opportunity, which they had not dreamed of at all, to tear the dispute over 242 from the narrow framework of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and to bring it to the international stage.

Dr. Haydar 'Abd E-Shafy, the chief of the Palestinian delegation, declared recently that "without Israeli recognition of Resolutions 242 and 338 as the source of the authority for the entire peace process, including the negotiations over the interim arrangements, we will not participate in the coming round of talks. It is not acceptable that Israel will continue with settlements and will in that way predetermine the final status of the territories."

Ahmed Ganim, who is active in the political committees and is the secretary of the steering committee of the Palestinian team, believes that the addition of Husayny to the delegation is "a step in the right direction, and additional Jerusalemites may be appointed to the delegation, but it is more important to add to that agreement on Resolution 242 and the granting of full authority over all the territories, including Jerusalem." In his opinion, "the Palestinians have already made a great concession by retreating from their demand for all the land of Palestine, and now it is the Israelis' turn to make a significant concession."

The Palestinians have asserted repeatedly for a long time that the subject of human rights in the territories, including the issue of the expulsions, is important, but is not relevant to the negotiations themselves. But when the crisis of the expulsees broke out, they rushed to tie it to their really burning problem, the problem of political sovereignty over the territories and over East Jerusalem, and they tried to make gains in this area. "If Israel will not obligate itself on the issue of 242, let us be flexible on the issue of the expulsees," clarified Dr. 'Abd E-Shafy a month ago in an interview with HA'ARETZ.

Thus, by means of the crisis over the expulsees the Palestinians succeeded in realizing an important part of the negotiating strategy: they extracted an American promise to serve henceforth as an active partner in the negotiations, and they shattered an important component of the Madrid Formula, which touches on the heart of the conflict, Jerusalem; it may be that also on the issue of the imposition of 242 on the interim arrangements there will be some progress in their direction, or at least in the extent of the authority that will be given to the autonomous administration.

An illustration of what is transpiring in the peace process was given in the first Israeli-Palestinian seminar of its kind, which was held recently in Jerusalem and was devoted to its problems. There was discussion of possible solutions to the conflict and issues of Israeli-Palestinian

cooperation and of improving the status of the Palestinian residents of the city. Towards the end of the seminar, a senior representative of the Islamic establishment in the city made brief and incisive comments: "You can also talk about these subjects for another hundred years. As long as the right of Palestinian sovereignty in Jerusalem is not recognized, it will have no result or influence." That is the essence of the Palestinian position. Not equal municipal rights, not rapprochement of the peoples, not economic plans are on the agenda at this stage, rather recognition of political rights. Only afterwards will it be possible to develop the other areas.

It emerges from conversations with the Palestinian team that in the ninth round of the talks, which will open on the 20th of this month in Washington, they will continue to conduct the negotiations strategy on the basis of the two central axes. They will present positions that demand the cessation of settlement and construction in all the territories, including Jerusalem. The presence of a representative from Jerusalem, who also holds a very senior position for the PLO in the territories, will give added emphasis to this demand. In addition, they will apparently focus on the demand for a new Israeli proposal on the subject of the territorial boundaries and the essence of the autonomous authority, as well as on an effort to undermine the other bases of the Madrid Formula, such as nonparticipation by representatives of the Palestinian diaspora in their delegation.

In their estimation, to the extent that they succeed in these efforts, they will soften the opposition of the Palestinian opposition, will achieve for the PLO a more official position in the process, and will approach the realization of their aim: a Palestinian state, whose capital is Jerusalem.

Fida 'Completely Committed' to PLO Positions

93P50184A Jerusalem AL-FAJR in Arabic 24 Apr 93 p 11

[Report by Munir Abu-Rizq]

[Excerpt] Gaza—A responsible source in the Palestinian Democratic Union party [PDU, known as Fida in Arabic] has stated that the party is completely committed to the positions of the Palestinian people's political leadership—the decision-maker in these decisive times, i.e., the PLO—as it is the sole, legitimate representative and the leader of the Palestinian people's struggle.

The source asserted that Fida will actively participate in carrying out these decisions, committed to a spirit of higher national responsibility. At the same time, he asserted that PLO participation and the delegation's participation in the current round of negotiations did not come out of a vacuum. [passage omitted].

Palestinian Views Economic Aid to Territories

93AA0044F Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Financial Supplement) in Hebrew 20 Apr 93 p 5

[Article by Sever Plotzqer]

[Text] On Saturday, I receive a lot of anonymous telephone calls. They complain about a report, praise a report, propose additions, volunteer to tell of their experience. A live connection.

This Saturday, an economist from somewhere in the territories, from the autonomy on the way, also phoned. [sentence as published] He did not give his name. You can call me Ahmad, he said with a laugh. A slightly bitter laugh.

Pleased to meet you, Dr. Ahmad, I said.

Pleased to meet you, Mr. Sever, he said.

I am calling you, he said, in connection to what I read in the newspaper, that the Israeli Government is planning to pour hundreds of millions of shekels into the territories for immediate work. Initiative work, as you call it.

Correct, I said. Such a plan has been authorized. One hundred seventy million shekels for immediate disbursement, and an additional 130 million shekels for disbursement by the end of the summer. Very nice, no?

That is the problem, said Dr. Ahmad, the economist from the land of the territories. I want to explain to you why this is not nice and not appropriate. I want to convince you, so that you will write against it. Maybe you will have influence.

I said: Why should I write against it? I am actually in favor of it. The blockade of the territories cut off 120,000 workers from a source of income and left a million people without an income. Our government should be thanked that they are now willing to make investments in the territories, in order to give employment to these forcibly unemployed. Will you agree with me that better now, Dr. Ahmad, than never?

No, he said, no. You are not offering us, the Palestinians, 100 million shekels so that we will come and decide for ourselves in what, how, and when to invest. You say: We, the Israelis, we will do it for you; we will build for you, we will pave for you. And perhaps we do not even want this?

We Are Not Stupid Locals

You do not want more schools? More roads? This is an improvement in the quality of life!

I am not sure, the Palestinian economist said, which we want first: road or telephones, for example. It is possible, were we able to decide for ourselves, that we would prefer, first of all, to invest in an independent local and international telephone network in order to be cut off from your Bezeq. We are not little children, we are not

stupid locals. We want to decide our own economic order of preferences for ourselves.

This is a political question, I said, which will not be solved in the near future. But, in any case, it is preferable that you find employment in your land in the construction of your hospitals, instead of on the scaffolding of our housing projects.

Not in any case, Mr. Sever, Dr. Ahmad said with decisiveness. In order to pave 100 meters of road in Tel Aviv, he said, you require contour plans and planning committees and authorizations from all ministries of the Israeli Government, and, now, the approval of residents, as well. And with us? You are the landlords, and you do not give two hoots about us, because we do not have government ministries, and we do not have Palestinian planning committees, and we do not have anything at all. We have only your regime, and they decide for us where to pave a road and whether to build another wing in the hospital or another classroom in a school. Even in the colonies they have more consideration for their subjects, he said in English.

Dear Dr. Ahmad, I said, with your permission, do not forget that this is our money, which comes out of the budget of the Israeli Government, and you know the Hebrew saying: He who will pay has the say. That is how it is.

Your money? You are not saying that seriously, are you, said my Palestinian conversationalist. You are the ones who collect about half a billion shekels in taxes annually from the Palestinian population in the territories. We pay you a gasoline tax, tax on our wretched income, duty and value added tax on imports, and on and on. You have put all of this money in your pockets for 20 years. Now, suddenly, you are generous and throw us some bones, so that there will be something to lick during blockade days? So that we will not rebel? So that we will not die on you from hunger, for then, the world would shout?

It could be, I agreed with him, that we really were not fair with you in the past. But, I, myself, remember that the prime minister, Menahem Begin, may he rest in peace, was actually the one who passed the resolution concerning large investments in the territories, in order to make the Palestinian quality of life comparable to that of the Jews.

And what happened with that?, asked Dr. Ahmad. The fact is that you, during all the years of occupation, became richer at our expense. You invested pennies. I hear, again and again, that you improved the shelters at the transit station at the Erez barricade, and you call this "investments in the territories." It is ridiculous. And now you have made a blockade, a break-off, a separation. You want a separation? Good, then let us collect our taxes from our population, in the way that we want and as much as we want, and, afterward, we will decide

ourselves what to do with this money. If it is a road for us, we want to decide if it is really essential, and where it should really go.

No problem, I said, I am sure that the civil administration would be happy to hear your opinions. You can collaborate.

The economist Dr. Ahmad asked in wonder, collaborate? With whom? The civil administration in the territories is all yours. And we want our own regime, our own economic policy, for our benefit. We wish to control our own economic activity and enact law that will control the movement of goods, money, investments, and foreign currency in our territory.

And what would you do differently, I asked.

A lot, Dr. Ahmad replied with confidence. We, for example, would not impose any value-added tax at all in the territories, because our economy is primarily agricultural. We would impose different duty rates on different products. We would collect less tax from video equipment and more tax from benzene. We would give more subsidies to public transportation. Perhaps buses are more important to us than roads, he said. Have you thought about that, Mr. Sever?

But bringing in buses will not create many places of employment, I said. This does not help during a closure period.

Yes, replied Dr. Ahmad, and then he was quiet. Afterward, he added sadly: I see that I have not succeeded in explaining my position to you.

You have a problem, Dr. Ahmad, I replied angrily. You want to put the cart before the horse. How will you be able to collect taxes if you have no government, if you have no treasury ministry, if you have no independent regime, and if you have no currency? In the meanwhile, employment must be created for you, so let us start with something. What does it matter if there is initiative work, so what; a couple of months ago here there was talk of a big campaign for initiative work.

And was the proposal accepted, Dr. Ahmad asked politely. Did the Israeli Government really decide on initiative work as the solution to the problem of unemployment in Israel?

No, I said. The government rejected the proposal, because economists in the treasury ministry claimed that work such as this degenerate the workers, prevent them from obtaining professional training, and are liable to twist the employment structure in a direction that is undesirable for a modern economy.

You see, said Dr. Ahmad, now you are speaking as one economist to another.

Then what do you propose, as an economist, I asked.

You Have Imposed an Economic Siege Upon Us

I propose, he said, that you not make any additional decisions regarding how to arrange our economic lives in our autonomy. It is now 1993, not 1970, and we are not your subjects. You want to make our lives easier in a blockade? Please, let us sell our products to Israel without taxes and without duty and without difficulties. Like you sell your products to us. You do not want our workers to come over to you? Maybe you are right. The mood among the two nations must be calmed. But let us sell you our fruit and vegetables freely. Why should the trucks break down and be laden with goods at the border terminals. Let us also sell you floors and bricks, and maybe doors and windows, shoes and paper. Let us export products from our industry abroad without your enforced intervention. Without your obstacles. Initiators will be found among us, I guarantee you, Mr. Sever. Do not invest our money for us. Give us only economic freedom.

You, Dr. Ahmad, who refused again and again to identify himself by name, said further, you are protecting yourselves. As if you, the economic superpower of the Middle East, fear the weakened Palestinian economy, which has never received any assistance or financing or subsidies from you. And now, not only have you forbidden Palestinian work in Israel, you have imposed a real economic siege upon us. Nothing goes out and nothing goes in. Soon we, too, will start laying off myriads of workers, because we have no one for whom to manufacture or export. Have you gone crazy?

No, no, I said to Dr. Ahmad, you have gone crazy. We should permit free import of goods from the territories to Israel? Have we permitted it from Thailand?

Here the conversation was cut off.

EGYPT

Professor Discusses Islamic Economic Options

93LD0006B Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 17 Mar 93 p 9

[Interview with Dr. Husayn Shahhatah, professor of accounting in the College of Commerce at al-Azhar University in Cairo and professor of Islamic economics, by Muhammad Husayn; place and date not given]

[Text] Every economic system is based on a school. Taken altogether, the Islamic economic school comprises a group of structures that move toward a specific goal in the Islamic legal, political, and economic framework. The method of this system is determined by a unique dogmatic concept. This concept elevates material effort to the ranks of spiritual loftiness, and it balances between the interests of the individual and group and between the public and private domains. The dynamics of the Islamic economic system are not subject to the caprice of the market or opportunistic state intervention. This system is envisaged as providing administrative direction to the rulers based on the criteria of balance

and integration conceived by Islamic law, which elevates Muslim society based on God's covenant and stipulation. Given the importance of economics and its effect on our lives, we met with one of the pillars of Islamic economics, Dr. Husayn Shahhatah, a professor of accounting at the College of Commerce at al-Azhar University in Cairo and a professor of Islamic economics.

[Shahhatah] The concept of Islamic economics is the application of Islamic business law to economic life in order to achieve a life of comfort for the people of the world and to obtain God's satisfaction in the hereafter or to achieve material satisfaction to build the land and strengthen humanity based on obedience to God, the spiritual goal being to serve God and gain his satisfaction in the hereafter.

The Strength of the Islamic Economy

Islamic economics stands among Arab economic schools. Economists in the world are now looking at Islamic economics as a remedy for global economic problems. Major world economists are studying Islamic economics. One example among many is Maurice Allais, a Frenchman who is an influential capitalist economist in the world, a professor of the Western capitalist school, and the winner of the Nobel Prize for economics in 1989. He says that the capitalist system faces imminent collapse unless its adherents hasten to repair it, which can be done, among other things, by eliminating taxes, imposing a fee of about 2 percent on capital, eliminating commercial banks and establishing investment banks, controlling interest rates so that they approach true profit, and applying standards and morals, which are the only solution to some problems.

These ideas are taken from Islamic economics. I would not exaggerate if I said that they are borrowed from it.

Economic scholars say that it would be wonderful if Islamic governments were to embrace an Islamic economy, because it would liberate them from dependence on the East and West and free up Muslim wealth to promote Muslim prosperity.

Islamic Banks

The activity of Islamic banks is not limited to the Arab countries. It has spread with the Islamic awakening to almost everywhere in the world. There are now more than 100 to 110 Islamic banks in Turkey, Bangladesh, London, and Malaysia. An economic group has been established in the Islamic republic (formerly Russia) [as published]. In addition to a bank for Islamic economics, there are international banks that have opened Islamic branches after having studied Islamic banking regulations and new forms of investment and development.

Moreover, the Advanced Institute for Islamic Thinking in Washington has branches in Jeddah and Egypt. Its mission is to evaluate Islamic banks. Five evaluating committees have been established. They are concerned

with [banking] supervision under Islamic law, social aspects, banking aspects, administrative aspects, and accounting aspects. I am working on these committees. Their task is to evaluate and develop positive aspects of the Islamic banking experience, and to identify and remedy negative aspects in it.

[Husayn] Is banking interest investment or usury?

[Shahhatah] We at al-Azhar University—the shaykhs, the university president, and professors—strongly oppose the idea of Dr. Tantawi, the mufti of the Republic, regarding this problem. We emphasize that banking interest is the same as usury. If it is not the usury of pre-Islamic times, what is it? Legal experts have concurred on this, and a consensus is repealed only by a similar consensus. The Merchants Union sent an invitation to his eminence the mufti to attend a discussion, so that he could debate with those holding a divergent view. All of his conditions regarding the time, place, and participants were met. However, the mufti excused himself from attending without mentioning any reasons, despite emphasizing in the newspapers his willingness to hold such a debate. We regret that, despite the attendance of the editors of national newspapers and Dr. Shawqi (al-Fanjari), who responded to their claims and shortcomings in the area of Islamic law and jurisprudence, these newspapers, as is their custom, unfortunately did not publish the opposing view. The newspapers are always keen to publish only the mufti's opinion. Are these newspapers honest, true, and God fearing?

[Husayn] Do taxes replace the alms tax?

[Shahhatah] The alms-tax system is a principle [of Islam]. The alms tax will never be abolished. It cannot be replaced by positive law, which infringes on the Muslim's creed. Whoever disavows the alms tax perforce disavows a given of religion. Would someone dare to destroy a pillar of Islam? The alms tax, as I mentioned, is a principle. After it is collected, if it does not suffice to cover state expenditures in a given year, it is permitted to take from the wealth of the wealthy based on specific conditions formulated by legists in the books of Islamic jurisprudence.

The legists state that taxes may be imposed in addition to the alms tax in certain rare cases—famine, crises, and a holy war in God's service.

Given our contemporary circumstances, in which an individual is compelled to pay taxes when he is also required by Islamic law to pay the alms tax, it is permitted to subtract what is paid in taxes from the alms tax when calculating the latter.

Anyone wanting more information about this should refer to the book titled *Alms Tax Accounting Regarding Taxes*.

My Most Recent Works

My most recent works are a series of booklets now being printed. The series is titled *The Role of the Application of Boundaries in Economic Life*. The books explain economic aspects of the application of boundaries and their effect on achieving prosperity and an honorable life in order to achieve strength for Islam and Muslims.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Regarding the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I call for the establishment of a fund for an Islamic holy war to defend Islamic lands; protect the lives, honor, and property of Muslims; and finance the combatants. Today Bosnia-Herzegovina, tomorrow, perhaps Egypt.

Islamic Council Head on Peace Process Prospects

93LD0006C Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 10 Mar 93 p 7

[Interview with Kamil al-Sharif, the secretary general of the International Islamic Council for Missionary Work and Aid, by 'Ali Sabir; place and date not given]

[Text] A new round of peace talks is expected to begin between the Arabs and Israel in April, even though the problem of the [Palestinian] expelees remains unresolved and the previous talks were unproductive and failed to yield positive signs.

AL-NUR met with Kamil al-Sharif, the secretary general of the International Islamic Council for Missionary Work and Aid, to be apprised by him, in his capacity as an experienced diplomat, of the future of these talks and the chances of their success. AL-NUR also asked him about all Islamic issues now being brought up for discussion. Our first question concerned his evaluation of the Arab negotiator's position in the peace talks with Israel. His response was as follows:

[Al-Sharif] I believe that current Arab disagreements place pressure on the Arab negotiator. This is no doubt a card in the Israelis' hand. It is most unfortunate that the Arab negotiator is going to peace negotiations representing defeated peoples and starting from a position of weakness. Regardless of our ability to speak and maneuver, the facts ultimately govern the situation, and the facts are naturally painful. All of them are based on weakness. In addition, there are Arab differences and a unified Arab position is lacking. If a unified Arab position existed, as well as some support and cooperation, perhaps the Arab negotiator would feel strength and would know that he could rely on a strong cohesive nation, solid backing, and unified ranks. Unfortunately, none of this exists, which makes me feel despondent regarding the outcome of political action. I believe that political action is good, but strength must back it up. Therefore, military readiness must go side by side with political action, because success undoubtedly depends on both politics and war [i.e., the development of both political and military options]. There must be readiness for both of them together. Regarding political action,

clear plans must exist. Peace should not be at any cost. It must be clearly outlined vis-a-vis the facts, and its advantages must be clear and well defined. All of this requires that the process be clear, which of course is not completely the case now.

[Sabir] Therefore, why do we not move out of the Arab domain into the Islamic domain to unite Islamic ranks to pressure the Israeli negotiator?

[Al-Sharif] That would be correct theoretically and should be pursued. We are not disheartened by this trend. However, we must recognize that Arab problems influence the Islamic countries. The Arabs play an influential leadership and guidance role. If their position is bad, their role deteriorates. If their position is good, their influence is good. This was reflected in the Islamic conference in Senegal. We had expected that the conference would support Islamic activity on the whole, especially in Africa. However, Arab disagreements were reflected in the conference. The desired outcome did not materialize, and the Islamic world became divided due to the division of the Arab world. As long as the Arab head does not think, as long as the Arab heart—which God made the heart of Islam—does not beat correctly, as long as its inclinations and exquisite qualities are not straightened out, the Islamic world and the Arab world will continue to be two paralyzed powers. We are still hopeful that our leaders will perceive our pain and the pain of their peoples and realize that history will call them to account. God willing, they will be up to the responsibility and attempt to deliver us from this climate of discord, disagreement, and conflicts, and thus straighten out Arab and Islamic ranks.

We are in great need of this now. We hope that the media will help us in this and regard itself as an envoy and ambassador in this mission, exerting all of its energies, being ever desirous of extinguishing the flame of discord, and not helping in any way to kindle and fan this flame. We also appeal to them to strive toward the unifying of ranks and Arab unification, not the opposite, so that we can take our true place among the nations, and so that we can place our destiny in our own hands, not in the hands of others.

Tragedy of Kuwait

[Sabir] What happened in Kuwait is the most recent crack in Arab solidarity. What is your view of the current situation. Is there any hope of repairing this crack?

[Al-Sharif] Most unfortunately, we need time to get out from under the burden of what happened in Kuwait and to realize its effects. The Kuwaiti brothers are not to blame for what struck them. With all of our hearts, we experienced with them their ordeal and displacement. We have always supported their effort to free their prisoners. This is a fundamental, humanitarian problem. I admire the reconstruction activity which is moving ahead quickly to rebuild and repair the destruction in Kuwait caused by the war. Before this strife occurred, Kuwait played a major role in Islamic activity and in the

service of Islamic missionary work and Arab causes. I expect, God willing, that it will have a role in the future. We are still depending on the Kuwaiti brothers to once again perform their Arab and Islamic role, so that we can restore Arab and Islamic ranks. To be able to confront our problems, I say to them that we have not lost hope. Despite the atrocities and bad psychological effects of the ordeal which befell them, we hope that, after the wounds have healed and outstanding problems are solved—especially the problem [of Iraq's detention of Kuwaiti] prisoners, which, if solved, would likely mean that the Muslim would return to his creed and the Arab to his noble disposition and characteristics—that the call will become one of restoring Arab ranks and Islamic ranks, and of banding together to solve our problems and examine our issues. The call in the future must be for a single nation and unified ranks before we are toppled by our enemies, who are lying in wait for us on many sides, who do not want our wounds to heal, and who would never be happy if we united our ranks. We must not allow them to seize this opportunity.

Difficulties of Missionary Work

[Sabir] What are the difficulties facing Islamic missionary work, especially after the collapse of communism and the exit of the Islamic republics from their bondage?

[Al-Sharif] The difficulties facing Islamic missionary work differ according to peoples and environments. The peoples in the former Soviet Union have not been active in the Islamic procession. The communist rulers attempted continuously and systematically to distort the Islamic creed and teach apostasy. This no doubt produced a change in these peoples' psyches. However, they have a great yearning to return to Islam, to be connected with the Islamic nation, and to resume Islamic life. They have no doubt mounted strong resistance, secretly and publicly, to preserve a measure of their Islamic creed, belief, and identity. Therefore, we Muslims must fulfill their desires with as much support as possible, not only regarding religious education, but also regarding economic and social matters. Soviet colonialism denied them all of that, because, like any form of Western colonialism, it made the Islamic peoples into a plantation and market to serve the ruling class, despite the slogans of freedom, socialism, internationalism, and humanitarianism, which Soviet colonialism used as a pretext. However, colonialism is, on the whole, colonialism. It has used subjugation, repression, and the denial of freedom. Therefore, these peoples need all types of support and assistance. We must act quickly to meet this responsibility. We know that Israel is now sending missions continuously to these republics and is competing with us in them. This in itself is a shortcoming and a defect. We are more appropriate. We must recognize that international conspiracies against Islam are no doubt acting in consort. Among these conspiracies is that they have preoccupied us by creating local wars for us. They have sown hostilities. They are now working to entrench and perpetuate them, so that we do not turn

to other problems. At the same time that we are preoccupied and removed from our Muslim brothers in the Islamic republics and in Africa, they have mounted a Christianization campaign and Zionist attack. We must extricate ourselves from the climate of discord which developed in the Gulf. I always call it discord. We must become free of its effects. We must try to reunite Arab and Islamic ranks, even if it entails a sacrifice on the part of those affected by the aggression and by the atrocities which we have heard about. We appreciate them of course, and we appreciate their psychological effect. However, this is a time when belief, love, identification with Islam, and the nobility and loftiness which the Arab character has known must abound.

This is a time to restore Arab ranks and to try to cope with our problems. This is what I told my brothers in Kuwait when I went to the conference there. I told them, and all of the brothers from the Islamic countries, that great opportunities are now opening to Islam, but they are being lost, and we bear responsibility for what we are now in, be it the dangers descending upon us or the [loss of] opportunities opening to us. All of this requires us to become free of the effects of discord and to cope with the situation as men cope with their situations despite all that has happened.

Yes, what happened in the Gulf is a catastrophe. However, if we continue with this millstone around our necks, and if all of our thoughts are related to it, we will transform this catastrophe into an ongoing catastrophe. Instead of ending, it will continue, and it spill over into future crises. That would be a crime for which God, the sublime and exalted, will call us to account. Coming through this ordeal and forgetting its effects are now the most serious issues facing Islamic missionary work and Muslims in general. Therefore, if we transcend this ordeal and not allow Islam's enemies opportunities to ambush Islam and the Muslims, all difficulties facing missionary work everywhere—in Africa, Japan, Central Asia, or anywhere—will become negligible.

How do we confront the Christianization campaigns that are active not only where there are minorities, but in Islam's own house as well?

Our mission is to protect our children with belief, culture, awareness, and correct knowledge. At the same time, it is also important that we protect the needy, because hungry, empty stomachs, and naked and sick bodies present a test to our creed. We know that Christian missionary activities depend to a large degree on charitable aid which is organized and channeled to organized associations that operate in a calculated manner with substantial support from their governments. This is the complete opposite of our situation, in which many governments assume a neutral position regarding the charitable aid of Islamic organizations. Moreover, some of them most unfortunately assume a hostile attitude toward Islamic charity organizations, because of the ideological chaos within them. Western governments make budgetary allocations to support

Christianization campaigns and missionary activities. In other words, they provide material and moral support. However, this is necessarily an area for discussion with our governments—even though they are Islamic governments—and an area in which to appeal to their conscience, with all due respect for their economic circumstances. Some governments are facing very difficult economic circumstances. Therefore, we ask only their moral support, so that we can confront these campaigns with legitimate means. [end Al-Sharif]

Dialogue With Christians

His excellency the secretary general continues speaking of confronting missionary movements. He states that there is another method which must be given attention, namely dialogue with Christian movements.

[Al-Sharif] We call for a dialogue with them. Among the issues which we would discuss with them at length is the issue of missionary activity. We are always telling them that it is unreasonable for them to seek friendship, dialogue, and cooperation with Muslims regarding social and economic matters, while simultaneously fighting the Muslims' creed and religion. This is impermissible. To be fair, we should say that many Western, Christian intellectuals concur with us on this point. An example is the well-known Father Michel (Roulong) in France, who has written a book on Islam and the West. In that book, he candidly states that the time has come to stop missionary activity in the Islamic countries, because it is incompatible with our friendship and dialogue. I have met many others like him in different dialogue forums who make similar remarks. This is also a field in which we should make efforts.

IRAQ

Husayn Kamil Discusses Industrial Production

93AE0480A Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic
1 Apr 93 pp 1, 5

[Staff Lieutenant General Husayn Kamil Hasan: "Start Up of the Manufacture of Spare Parts for Railway Locomotives, Coaches and Loaders That Were Previously Imported"]

[Text] Staff Lieutenant Husayn Kamil Hasan, adviser to the President and Superintendent of Industry and Oil, announced the following: "In implementation of the order of the president, our leader, may God protect him, on development of the transport of goods and passengers by railway, the freedom fighters of the Military Production Corps began an admirable campaign and expended seminal efforts, aided by cadres of the Iraqi Railways Public Corporation and the Ministry of Industry and Minerals, wherein they formed specialized work teams to carry out the directives of our freedom fighter leader, by virtue of which they engage in a new chapter in the battle of construction and challenge.

With God the Exalted's support, spare parts that were previously imported and that the blockade had prevented from entering the country have been manufactured. [The blockade] caused the stoppage of many railway locomotive, coach, and loader operations. This had a harmful effect on the competence and efficacy of goods and passenger transport. The uninterrupted, well-coordinated and well-organized work of these teams was initiated under the slogan "May the Impossible Never Be!" They were able to overcome the difficulties they had encountered during the campaign to formulate a plan for achievement of objectives over two phases. Their gracious and distinguished efforts resulted in the repair of 246 coaches, all of which had been projected for the first phase of the plan. Work began on 8 September 1992 and ended on 1 December 1992. The work teams began the second phase of the plan on the day that the first phase ended. The set plan was for the repair of 283 coaches, all of which was achieved in full, in addition to the repair of 9,702 loaders and the repair of 257 locomotives (out of total of 306). It is expected that the remainder will be completed by mid-April.

It is worth mentioning the success of the campaign in overcoming all obstacles in its way, by virtue of providing local alternatives to the imported spare parts. For example, 28 sets of acid- and base-batteries for various locomotives were reconditioned; 12,000 acid cells were manufactured from passenger coach batteries, as were estimated tens of thousands of spare parts. Hundreds of electrical and electronic apparatuses were repaired and installed, with the cognizance that all these items were previously imported. In light of the preceding information, we can say with all pride and honor that the freedom fighters have achieved their chartered goal with supreme competence and efficacy and with the success granted by God the Exalted."

Korean Construction Company Official Visits Iraq

*93AE0480B Baghdad AL-QADISIYAH in Arabic
6 Apr 93 p 5*

[Article: "Head of the Council of Ministers Receives Deputy Chairman of Korean Hyundai Construction Company"]

[Text] Muhammad Hamzah al-Zubaydi, a member of Revolutionary Command Council [RCC] and head of the Council of Ministers, received (Oh Ha Moon), deputy chairman of Hyundai Construction and Engineering Company, Ltd., of South Korea, and his accompanying delegation.

The head of the Council of Ministers appraised the contribution of the company in implementing a number of structural and engineering projects in Iraq prior to the thirty-nation aggression and the continued presence of the company's representative in Baghdad following imposition of the unjust blockade.

He affirmed Iraq's willingness to cooperate with the company in implementing a number of structural

projects under the prevailing circumstances and after the lifting of the unjust blockade.

The deputy chairman of the Hyundai Company expressed the readiness of his company to cooperate with Iraq within the scope of its expertise, and indicated that the company draws upon Iraq's cultural history and massive financial and human resources when doing business with it.

The meeting was attended by Mahmud Dhiyab al-Ahmad, minister of housing and reconstruction, and Dr. Ja'far Diya', adviser to the president and head of the Council of Ministers Secretariat.

Iranian Attack Against Kurds in Iraq Detailed

*93AS0784B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
21 Apr 93 p 4*

[Article: "Iranian Troop Concentrations on Iraq Borders in Wake of Shelling of Iranian Kurdish Positions in No-Fly Zone"]

[Text] London—Sources close to the Iraqi Kurdish leadership have expressed deep concern over the Iranian shelling of positions of the (Iranian) Democratic Party of Kurdistan and of villages in northern Iraq. The sources have asserted that the Iranians have amassed two mechanized divisions, supported by artillery, along the border with Iraq and that the Iraqi Kurdish Forces (Peshmergas) have been put on alert.

Serhcil Qazzaz, representative of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan in Ankara, has stated that Iranians have shelled several positions of the Iranian Democratic Party of Kurdistan in the no-fly zone established by the Alliance Forces in northern Iraq. Qazzaz added that the artillery shelling emanated from positions close to Marivan, in Iran, and targeted the Kurdish villages of Mirana, Dar Tu, Mani Sana, and Bardarash near the border with Iran. Qazzaz said he has no information on losses in lives.

Informed sources have told AL-HAYAH that the Kurds had been expecting for sometime that Iranian provocations, which started weeks ago, would escalate. They pointed out that the Alliance Forces Coordination Committee responsible for protecting the Kurds had warned the Iranians against attacking northern Iraq. But despite this, Iranian forces attacked on 25 March 1993 the village of Hiro in the district of Qal'at Dizah, as well as two other villages in the same district on the same day. Revolutionary Guard, Pasdran, Forces then entered the two villages, arrested a number of people, and looted homes. A Kurdish citizen was killed in the operation.

On the same day, Iranian artillery and helicopters shelled the villages of Ashkan and Kuhta in the northern part of Qal'at Dizah. Pasdran Forces then entered and plundered the area before withdrawing. Three days later, Iranian aircraft bombed Hiro village in northern Qal'at Dizah.

Masoud Rajavi, chairman of the opposition Iranian National Resistance Council, has urged (according to AFP) the Security Council to "examine immediately" the Iranian Army's shelling two days ago of the Iranian Kurdish positions in Iraqi territories.

In a statement received by AFP from an Iranian Kurdish source, the council reports that on Monday morning, the Iranian Army launched from the other side of the border operations against positions of the Iranian Democratic Party of Kurdistan in the Iraqi Kurdistan. The council points out that it has noticed that the Iranians have been amassing artillery, armors, guns, and troops on the other side of Iran-Iraq border for days.

Arabs Called To Unite Against Iranian Aggression

93AS0784A Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic 3 Apr 93 p 1

[Article: "United Arab Stance Is Essential To Confront Iranian Sabotage and Aggression"]

[Text] The events and developments that Algeria has been experiencing for not a short time confirm the sabotaging and conspiratorial role performed by the Iranian regime. This regime seeks to plant sedition, spread anarchy, and create unrest in the Arab countries in order to shake their stability and to drive a wedge of hatred and rancor among the various political factions and tendencies so this regime will be able ultimately to create a tattered model that emulates its example to take control of affairs and of power.

Out of malice and hatred for the Arab nation, the Iranian regime has been planning for years, in coordination with all the historical enemies of the Arabs, including the imperialist and Zionist forces, to tear the Arab nation apart, to disseminate hatred and rancors among its sons, and to break up its unity so Iran's rulers will be able to seize more Arab land and Arab resources and to control the Arab Gulf region, thus continuing the ill-reputed course that was adopted by the shah of Iran.

Since the early 1980's, i.e., at a very early stage, Iraq has repeatedly warned of the Iranian regime's ambitions and open intervention in the Arab family's domestic affairs. On all occasions and at all Arab meetings, Iraq has called for adopting a united and firm Arab stance vis-a-vis the Iranian regime's heedlessness, arrogance, and determination to inflict harm on the Arab nation and its countries. But regrettably, the Arab reaction to the crude and ferocious Iranian assault has not risen to a serious level that can curb and stop the Iranian regime and make it abandon its sick dreams and criminal schemes to undermine Arab solidarity and the destiny of the Arabs to confront hostile challenges jointly.

The Iranian regime ignited a war of aggression against Iraq throughout eight years and did not end that war until Iraq triumphed with its national will, which can defeat the criminal plan of leaders of this revenge-seeking Iranian regime. Despite the lesson Iraq taught

the Tehran's conceited rulers and despite these rulers' ugly defeat, they have continued to cling to their foolish policy, and they have been looking for opportunities to resume intervention and aggression.

When Iraq emerged triumphant from its main battle (mother of battles) and while Iraqi citizens have been preoccupied with eliminating traces of the aggression, the Iranian regime, hoping to achieve success, bared its talons anew and sent thousands of its agents across the borders when the aggressive alliance failed. This page of betrayal and treachery exposes anew the true character of the malicious and suspect Iranian regime that hides behind the robes of religion falsely while committing the most heinous crimes that are in total conflict with the principles of religion and of ethical conduct. The Iranian regime, which is determined to adopt a sabotage policy and to disseminate accursed sectarian ideas in the Arab countries in implementation of its evil goals and objectives, must be confronted firmly and forcefully at the Arab official and popular levels. At the highest levels, the Arab League must examine this Iranian methodology, this ferocious assault, and this coarse rhetoric that is emanating from Tehran and that must be confronted as swiftly as possible and in a manner befitting the scope and dimensions of Iran's intervention in the affairs of the single Arab family.

We say again that keeping silent on the destructive Iranian actions and turning a blind eye to the crimes of Tehran's rulers will only make these rulers more persistent and more determined to proceed on the path of evil and of plotting against the Arab nation and against the Arab masses' aspirations for unity and solidarity.

We assert that a serious Arab stance is needed if the Iranian regime is to be stopped from extending its arms and its agents to other Arab countries. It is a warning before it is too late.

Statistical Facts Publicized at Exhibition

93AE0482A Baghdad ALIF BA' in Arabic 10 Mar 93 p 31

[Article by Rafal Isma'il: "Figures Revealed at Annual Statistical Conference"]

[Text] Did you know that there are 1,136 operating hotels throughout the governorates of Iraq?

That the frequency of road accidents in 1992 was 1.4 per thousand residents?

We obtained those figures during a tour of the Sixth Statistical Exhibition of the Central Agency of the Census held recently in conjunction with the seventh annual statistical conference at the Ministry of Planning.

The objectives of the exhibit were described by Nabil 'Abd-al-Qadir, general manager of administrative and financial affairs with the Central Agency of the Census. He said, "The saying goes that there is no planning

without statistics and no statistics without valid and accurate figures. The agency, therefore, annually holds its permanent statistical exhibition in order to raise the statistical awareness of citizens and encourage them not to hesitate in giving out correct and accurate figures. The exhibition also helps to impress citizens with the importance of statistical figures and the role they play in planning and development. The exhibition is, therefore, one way to reach the population and disseminate statistical awareness."

Nafi' 'Abd-al-Ahad, the agency's director of information and public relations and the official in charge of statistical chart design, said, "The exhibit has 45 charts designed by me and executed by Salim al-Khattat. The charts are statistical indicators of the performance of most of the country's sectors, which are represented as graphs and exhibited in superior fashion that is easily understood by viewers."

"We divided the exhibit into 11 sections covering all productive, service, and cultural sectors from the Central Agency of the Census to figures on construction in the country."

Let us, then, enter the world of statistics as we tour the exhibit.

In the area of population and labor force, we discovered that the population of Iraq increased over 125 years, from 1.28 million in 1867 to 18.419 million in 1991, and that the population density in Baghdad is 5,233 residents per square kilometer.

Among employees of government agencies and the socialist and combined sectors, it turns out that most of them, 28.5 percent to be exact, have no formal education at all. Preparatory school graduates account for 21.4 percent of those workers. Holders of bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees ranked third among employees classified by educational level.

Another section dealt with the economic siege [boycott] and its impact on the mortality of children younger than 5 years. There were 818,183 such mortalities attributed to malnourishment resulting from food shortages and malnutrition in the two year period from 1991-92.

The section on agriculture indicates that the wheat crop increased in 1991 by 280,000 tons, or 23.4 percent, over 1990 but the barley crop declined by 1.086 million tons in the same statistical period.

We also discovered the following industrial statistics:

The ratio of urban dwellings equipped with electricity is 100 percent.

Output in 1991 was valued at 1.802 million dinars by 40,398 small, medium, and large industrial facilities.

Figures on commerce show that Iraq has 12 five-star luxury hotels, as well as 758 fifth-class popular hotels. There are 1,136 operating hotels, excluding those that

are not open for business or the new ones that have been operating for less than six months.

Social and educational statistics told us that there were 184,000 kindergartens in Iraq in 1991.

We also found out that the number of primary school pupils increased over a period of 23 years by 2,298,986 million, from 1,017,050 million boys and girls in 1968-69 to 3,316,036 in 1991-92.

There were 197,786 students enrolled in universities in the 1991-92 school year. This is an increase of 13,739, over 184,047 male and female students in 1989-90.

Transportation and communications figures indicate that there were 23.378 million km of paved highways in 1991—a considerable improvement over 1981.

The National Audit Center revealed that in 1990, per capita income was 1,137.70 dinars and national income was 2,035,300 million dinars [as published].

A 1988 social and economic survey of families showed that government monthly salaries account for 23.9 percent of individual monthly income. Income from rental properties accounted for 18.6 percent, and income from other sources accounted for 6 percent.

Finally, we paused at the construction section. Did you know that the private sector was issued 113,926 building permits in 1990 but that the siege caused the number of such permits to drop to 31,171 in 1991?

The exhibits also included major indicators of private sector construction. The number of homes and residential buildings erected in 1991 also dropped because of the siege. In the whole of Iraq, only 46,000 homes and 308 residential buildings were constructed in 1991.

The exhibition not only dazzles with the design beauty of the charts and the accuracy of the figures; it also puts a wealth of information at your fingertips so that you do not have to dig for it in books.

Impact of Lifting Oil Embargo Explained

93AE0474A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 8 Apr p 11

[Article by Muhammad Ma'tuq]

[Text] London—What prevents Iraq from returning to the pre-Gulf war oil production level—apart from political considerations that override almost all other considerations—is the major oil-producing countries' need to maintain their present share of the oil market, which benefited from the absence of Iraqi oil since the economic sanctions were imposed on Iraq in August 1990 following the invasion of Kuwait, the weakness of the world economy that limits demand for oil, and Russia's maintaining a high level of oil exports.

Analysts say that financial burdens would exhaust Iraq, including payment of 30 percent of the oil revenues to Kuwait and to the local and international parties that

suffered war damages after the embargo is lifted. Moreover, the reconstruction of the country after two destructive wars might drive Iraq toward leaving OPEC, which it was a founding member of, if the Iraqis find that their membership of the organization will impeded their plans to return to the pre-war level, which was 3.1 million bpd [barrels per day].

Fadil al-Jamali, a former Iraqi minister and director of the London-based Center for International Energy Studies, said that estimates prepared by the center on the basis of firm oil prices and average world economic growth show that the markets will not be in need for Iraqi oil before 1996-97, when demand for OPEC oil will exceed the producing countries' ability. Even then, the increase in demand will not exceed 2 to 6 percent. Yet other appraisals, based on the anticipation of lower average growth in demand for OPEC oil due to higher oil prices, which will result from an energy tax imposed in the industrial countries, indicate that the need for Iraqi oil will not emerge before 1998.

Al-Jamali believes that "in the light of the present oil market conditions, generally characterized by greater supply and by the deterioration of the financial situation of the oil rich countries, Iraq's return to the market with the same exports volume that existed before the Gulf war will cause serious problems for OPEC and the Gulf countries' financial situation in general." He added: "In this case the return to exporting at full blast will only lead to further weakening the price structures, which would lead to the collapse of prices in a manner similar to what happened in 1968.

Oil analysts said that Iraqi oil return to the market at full capacity is impossible in the present condition of Iraqi outlets for oil exports. War operations during the 1980's and early 1990's have put al-Bakr Port in the south out of action. Its loading capacity has dropped to between 500,000 and 600,000 bpd. It has been said that these will be ready for immediate shipping as soon as the oil embargo is lifted. With this capacity, Iraq will be able to meet Security Council requirements under Resolution 706, which permits Iraq to sell quantities of oil for use of humanitarian purposes. But the Iraqi side is still refusing to implement the resolution, which it considers an encroachment on Iraqi sovereignty, and is still bargaining over the unconditional resumption of exports to the oil markets. Even supposing Iraq accepts the resolution, the quantities it will be allowed to export is estimated at 300,000 to 350,000 bpd over a period of six months. It is likely that if Iraq accepts to implement the resolution, this will be conditional upon the free resumption of exports after the expiry of the six months period.

Al-Jamali said that Iraq, given the efficiency of the work force in its oil installations, can increase the capacity of the pipe crossing Turkey from its present temporary capacity of 800,000 to 900,000 bpd to 1.65 million bpd in a period not exceeding six months. This would increase the level of Iraqi exports at the end of that period to 1.65 bpd and then to 2.5 million bpd after six

months. Given the fact that Iraq will need spare parts to repair its oil installations and bring them to the level prior to the Gulf war, the resumption of exports to the level prior to the war will take about six months. And since there is need for no less than \$5 billion in order to develop its production capacity, development of this capacity will not be achieved shortly. Using the Turkish pipeline to its full capacity does not seem likely in the near future. This is indicated by the current talks between Turkey and Azerbaijan over the temporary use of one of the twin pipes in order to pump Azeri oil to the Mediterranean.

OPEC sources have declined to comment on this situation because of the complex political considerations involved. OPEC is not a body that executes decisions nor is it a decision-making body. But the situation inside OPEC reflects the political situation outside it, with all its implications and contradictions. While certain member states demand discussing the measures to be taken after the return of the Iraqi oil to the market in order to contain its effects and prevent prices from collapsing once again, other members consider discussing the question is premature and hypothetical. Typical of this political situation is the two French companies, Total and Elf Aquitaine, submitting a draft agreement with Iraq for the development of two oil fields, but withholding signing them agreements until after the international embargo on dealing with Iraq is lifted.

However, regardless of the political reservations over dealing with the Iraqi regime, the inducements it offers to the oil companies are huge. Ian Seymour, chief editor of the MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC SURVEY bulletin, which specializes in oil affairs, points out that the joint production partnership that Iraq proposed to the French is "an oil merchant's dream." But, he added, "It is a dream that will not come true unless the political and economic sanctions are lifted."

ISRAEL

Reductions in IDF Recruitment Viewed

Increase in Discharges

93AA0054A Tel Aviv YEDIO'T AHARONOT in Hebrew
29 Apr 93 pp 17-18

[Article by Dani Sade: "Discharges in Order To Save Money"]

[Text] Hundreds of soldiers who are not economically useful to the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] will be discharged this year, and hundreds of others will not be drafted at all over the next few years. The reason: The IDF has decided to "get rid of" problem soldiers and those who do not contribute to the army.

Already in 1992 soldiers designated as "unsuitable" have been released from service. Furthermore, the IDF will

discharge hundreds of "Rafal's boys" each year after they complete their two years of obligatory service.

The main reason for the IDF decisions, that are already starting to go into effect, is the desire to save money, or as senior officials put it, a lot of money.

The criterion for not drafting is economic: A thousand male and female soldiers in the IDF cost the army about 13 million shekels a year—from the moment of their arrival on base, even before they have begun their work day. On the one hand, the IDF does not have surplus money; on the other, it has lots of surplus soldiers because of the increase in draft cycles and because of the large immigration from the USSR, whose people have already begun to be drafted. They have therefore decided to "thin out" the ranks.

In the IDF, they explain: "We always discharged problem soldiers from service—those who had been in jail or had 'caused trouble'. Now the intent is also to discharge administrative service people, who cannot perform even that simple function adequately. We are talking about soldiers, the cost of whose upkeep to the IDF far exceeds any value that the IDF can derive from them: soldiers who have gone AWOL, soldiers with discipline problems, soldiers who do not function. There is no point in our keeping them here and carrying them along for three years just to be able to say that they completed their IDF service. We did not come up with that this week. We simply decided to tighten up the procedures so that all the commanders will know what it is about."

Another decision made recently has to do with soldiers from the Center for the Advancement of Special Populations (CASP), known as the "Rafal Boys" project. They will be discharged from the IDF at the completion of their 24 months of service. The IDF, by the same token, will double the number of soldiers in the project.

Unlike the past, "Rafal's Boys" will receive their discharge papers and be placed in the reserves. The IDF claims that soldiers who want to continue to serve after this time period will be able to do so if they meet the criteria established by the army. The experience of the

last few months shows that quite a few of the soldiers that the IDF wanted to release from service have, in fact, found themselves on the outside.

"Unlike the past," says a senior IDF officer, "today we have the luxury of a surplus of manpower that allows us not to fight to keep problem soldiers in the army. It used to be that they would go to jail and then come back to the service. Today we can simply send them home. We have neither the time nor the desire to deal with them."

The IDF is at a loss to understand the media hubbub raised as a result of the decisions to discharge problem soldiers from the IDF. "I do not understand what all the fuss is about," a senior officer in the manpower branch said yesterday. "When Lieutenant General Baraq came on board as chief of staff, he decided to turn the IDF into a small, efficient army. Because of budgetary problems he issued an instruction for the discharge of about 4,000 regular army people and about 1,000 civilian IDF employees.

We sent people home who had put their heart and soul into the army. We sent them into the civilian world at a time of rising unemployment—and there was no wave of demonstrations. People understood that there was no choice."

MK [Knesset Member] Ra'anana Kohen, who for several years has been tracking all of the IDF projects involving early release, opposes the new criteria instituted by the IDF. Kohen: "Even today every fifth male is not drafted into IDF service, and over the course of service another 12 percent, who are found unsuitable, are discharged. That is to say, only about two-thirds of all men participate fully in the defense burden.

To my great dismay, we are getting to a point where we will have an elite army and will create two societies in Israel. We will have a group of good people fit for service along with an intermediate group who are unfit. This is selection from among the country's citizens. What it means very simply is that most of those who find themselves on the outside will be from the weak sectors, whose alienation from state institutions will only increase, opposed by an elite, proud sector in the making.

**Reductions in IDF Recruitment
(shown in percents)**

Year	WHO DO THEY NOT DRAFT								WHO DO THEY DISCHARGE		
	Before Call-Up								During the Course of Obligatory Service		
	Semi-nary Students	Medical Reasons	Draft Threshold (Group A)	Procedures Not Yet Complete	Abroad	Total Exemptions	Call-Up Per Year	Unsuitable	Medical Reasons	Scope of Exemptions	Satisfactory Soldiers Per Year
1990	5.8	3.3	2.5	2.6	5.4	20.6	79.4	6.9	5.8	12.7	66.7
1991	6.0	3.3	3.2	2.5	5.5	20.5	79.5	7.3	5.0	12.3	67.2

[Box, p 17 by Hayim Shivi]

Rafal: The Army Is Not a For-Profit Business

"If there is no other framework, the state has to force education on the army," Lt. Gen. (Res.) Refa'el 'Eitan said yesterday at the Knesset snack bar. Rafal is bitter about the fact that the army has begun to treat its work force in terms of investment and return per draftee.

Rafal: "I saw with my own eyes how youths from the neighborhoods come home with a red beret or Golani hat, and the children run after them with pride. That they turn out as solid citizens was and remains a top priority social mission. We have given these youths their last opportunity—and they have exploited it. This was not a for-profit business. This was the solution to a top priority national problem.

If it is a budgetary problem, the state has to allocate the funds. The IDF is set up for that better than any other institution. It was Ben-Gurion who, in his day, determined the army's missions: security, settlement, education. Things have not changed much since he made up that list."

[Box, p 17 by Sever Plutsqi]

The Army Is Not a Social Agency

The army is not an educational institution, nor a social agency, nor even a forge for casting a new society. The army is the army. The army must defend the country, repel her enemies and deliver them a victorious blow. Always and under all circumstances.

The army must also, by force, plant the terror of defeat in the hearts of the enemy, so that they would not even dream of attacking. That is the army's responsibility.

The army must carry out its mission, like any other enterprise, efficiently, i.e., with cost-efficient measures and under very severe budgetary constraints. Were the heads of the IDF free today to decide the nature and scope of the draft, they would recommend a voluntary IDF, thus a small, quality army. They would recommend drafting into the IDF (perhaps after a few months obligatory basic service) only those who volunteered for it, passed the not-so-easy entrance exams and signed up for extended service, in return for a fair salary. The army would recommend sending the other 18-year olds to national service alternatives where they would serve society in Israel without pay. They, and not the IDF.

There is not much likelihood of the idea of a voluntary IDF coming to pass because it is contrary to the national credo on which our generation was raised. The IDF is looking for other solutions, solutions that would ease the tremendous fiscal burden of too general and too broad a call-up. How do you become more efficient without calling into question the national consensus?

A good answer to that is to very carefully check, against clear standards, the value of drafting every single youngster into the army. What does "value" mean? It means a

cost-benefit test: The IDF will only draft those youngsters who can make a net positive contribution to the country's defense. Net. It would be better to leave the others home from the start.

A whole lot of money is invested in the training of each soldier. Therefore, as is the case with the management of a modern high-tech plant, the army must also have the right to refuse to take in, and not train at its expense, manpower that is known in advance to be clearly unable to meet the requirements. To draft such people is a waste.

The IDF, whose budget is shrinking while its objectives expand, cannot allow itself to aim for more than to be a top-flight army.

Socioeconomic Consequences

93AA0054B Tel Aviv YEDIO'T AHARONOT in Hebrew
29 Apr 93 p 19

[Commentary by 'Amos Karmel: "The Make-Up of the IDF (Israel Defense Forces) Is the Make-Up of the Country"]

[Text] When the IDF invents new terms to replace good existing ones that have served the Hebrew language for a long time, we need to get to the bottom of the linguistic deceit. Such an investigation is required, for example, in light of the new IDF instruction for the noncall-up of soldiers with a deficient educational-social background, for reasons of "lack of economic efficiency." In other words, the IDF believes that there are sons and daughters of the depressed populations who do not provide a fair return on the money invested for their support, equipment, and training during the period of their service, and they therefore have to be left out. The IDF has to defend the country at the lowest cost possible and not deal with any other problem—that is the bottom line of "economic efficiency," which poses more than one question.

First of all, if we are going to talk in these terms, if we have really decided once and for all to calculate benefits versus costs in the IDF, how do the generals manage to ignore much larger sources of waste such as the army's private broadcasting station on top of all its civilian ones, such as the Nahal command and such as the fly-bys and sail-bys last Independence Day? Why do they not ask themselves the cost of the fact that most of the army's top echelons know the National Defense College only from the outside? Who looks into the service value of the very many female soldiers that the IDF lends to outside organizations, etc., etc.

The new instructions are thus connected with "small money," with a secondary savings objective. But beyond that it is worthwhile to point out that the IDF is not a business federation for conducting combat. It is a national body entrusted, subordinate to the government, with national defense matters in their entirety, and there

is, thus, no reason why it should not be tasked with nonmilitary and noneconomic vital missions that other bodies cannot deal with.

Therefore, for example, the Air Force was called up for "Operation Shlomo" [the most recent rescue of Ethiopian, Falasha, Jews] the moment it became clear that the relevant civilian bodies were unable to bear the burden alone. Therefore the IDF cannot look at the depressed youth and say that they, the way they are, are not its business. It is true that social-economic depression is formally the province of the Ministry of Labor and Welfare and the Ministry of Construction and Housing. It is true that basic education is the institutional responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture. But what is to be done with the youth who fall between the cracks, beyond the purview of these ministries? Who will deal with them if not the last government establishment that can put them into an educational framework?

Alternatively, the noncall-up of these youths means the reinforcement of their alienation and ignorance and a contribution to the perpetuation of the misery in which they were raised. The Chief of Staff and the IDF's call-up and fiscal establishment may not understand that the social fabric and the national defense will likely suffer as a result, that the proposed saving will cost the country dearly. But where is the civilian echelon that is in charge of them? Where is the defense minister who is also the prime minister?

SAUDI ARABIA

Bank Profits, Holdings Up in First Quarter 1993

93LH0002A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
20 Apr 93 p 13

[Report from Jeddah by Ahmad Makhtum: "Saudi Banking Profits Increase by 35 Percent in First Quarter; Aggregate Asset Climb to 245.1 Billion Riyals"]

[Text] Saudi banks were able to increase the volume of customer deposits, lending, and profits, according to this year's first-quarter results [statements] released a few days ago. The performance of 11 of the 12 public banks showed marked improvement in comparison with the same period a year earlier.

The 11 banks to announce profits are the United Saudi Commercial Bank, which is traditionally the first to announce quarterly figures; Saudi British Bank, Saudi Bank of Cairo; National Arab Bank; Saudi French Bank; Saudi Holland Bank; Saudi American Bank; Riyadh Bank; al-Rajhi Banking Company; Investment Bank; and al-Jazirah bank, which released its statements early for the first time after the plans and fundamental reforms it adopted two years ago.

The 12th bank is the National Commercial Bank, which releases no quarterly or annual statements because it is a private company that is owned by the Bin-Mahfuz and

the al-Ka'ki families. The bank is not statutorily required to announce its annual figures.

It should be noted that some banks have benefited from increased capitalization, which helped them emerge from their bottlenecks and realize net profits. That was the case with the Saudi Bank of Cairo and al-Jazirah Bank which announced net profits for the first time without having to allocate them to nonperforming debt reserves.

The figures indicate that the 11 banks realized combined net profits of 1.2 billion riyals by the end of last March, for an increase of 35 percent from 888 million riyals in the same period last year. Banking sources attribute this increase to a higher volume of transactions and on-demand deposits profitable to banks and to a variety of services, such as computerized telephone and bankcard services.

The sources predicted that bank profits would continue to climb now that their capitals and deposits have doubled and that most of them are rid of their bad and nonperforming loans. They have also restructured main offices and branches, reduced operating costs, and created new investment vehicles, such as investment funds.

The quarterly statements show that Saudi American Bank outranked other Saudi banks with net profits of 225 million riyals, a 4.3 percent increase from 215.6 million riyals in the first quarter last year. The bank doubled its capital last January, from 600 million to 1.2 billion riyals, by capitalizing 600 million riyals of its reserves and distributing the amount to shareholders in the form of a one-for-one stock split.

Riyadh Bank announced an 8.4 percent increase in profits this quarter to 223.9 million riyals, up from a year earlier profits of 206.5 million riyals. The bank increased its capital from 200 million to 2 billion riyals by capitalizing reserves of 1 billion riyals, declaring a five-for-one stock split, and offering for public subscription 8 million shares valued at 475 million riyals.

Al-Rajhi Banking Company's profits slid by 1.5 percent in the first quarter, to 180.4 million from 183.3 million riyals a year earlier. The company doubled its capital two years earlier, from 750 million to 1.5 billion riyals, by capitalizing reserves of 750 million riyals and distributing them in the form of a one-for-one stock split.

National Arab Bank's first-quarter profits jumped this year by 35.4 percent, to 115.2 million riyals from 84.8 million riyals in the same period last year. The bank is to double its capital next month, from 600 million to 1.2 billion riyals by capitalizing 600 million riyals of its reserves and announcing a one-for-one stock split.

Saudi British Bank realized a 50.8 percent increase in profits, from 58.6 million riyals in the first quarter of 1992 to 81.6 million riyals in the same period this year. The bank increased its capital from 400 million to 1 billion riyals last February by capitalizing reserves of 400

million riyals, declaring a one-for-one stock split, and offering 2 million shares for public subscription at 570 riyals a share.

Saudi French Bank profits climbed by 44.9 percent, to 81.6 million riyals from 56.3 percent riyals in the first quarter of 1992. The bank augmented its capital from 400 million to 900 million riyals by capitalizing reserves of 300 million, declaring a four-for-three stock split, and offering 2 million shares for public subscription at 570 riyals a share.

United Saudi Commercial Bank announced that its profits for the first quarter of this year increased by 30.4 percent, to 61.3 million riyals from 47 million riyals a year earlier. The bank doubled its capital from 250 million to 500 million riyals by capitalizing reserves of 250 million and distributing them in the form of a one-for-one stock split.

Saudi Bank of Cairo declared net first quarter profits of 56.7 million riyals, its first quarterly profits in many years because net profits used to be allocated to bad and nonperforming loan reserves. The bank doubled its capital last October from 600 million to 1.2 million riyals and offered 6 million shares for public subscription at 350 riyals a share.

Profits of Saudi Holland Bank shot up in the first quarter this year by 85.1 percent, to 50 million riyals from 27 million riyals in the same period a year earlier. The bank plans to augment its capital but has yet to decide on the size of the increase or the manner of doing so. It maintains reserves that would allow for a two-for-one stock split.

Al-Jazirah Bank also declared net first quarter profits, before allocation to contingency reserves, of 22.6 million riyals, compared with about 3 million riyals in losses a year earlier. The bank increased its capital from 100 million to 400 million riyals last September and offered 3 million shares for public subscription at 250 riyals a share. Even though it realized good profits and benefited from the issuing new shares, it should be noted that the bank still announced that these profits will be posted to its contingency reserves.

Saudi Investment Bank increased its first quarter profits by 70 percent, from 9 million riyals last year to 15.3 million riyals this year. It plans, according to statements by its board chairman, to boost its capital from 400 million to 600 million riyals once it reaches agreement with SAMA, the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency. An announcement to that effect is expected within the next two months.

The statements indicate that the combined asset value of the 11 banks above increased by 12.5 percent, from 217.8 million riyals in the first quarter of 1992 to 245.1 million riyals in the first quarter this year. Customer deposits also increased by 9.9 percent, to 169.5 million riyals in the first quarter of 1993 from 154.2 million riyals a year earlier. The increase in deposits is attributed

to investment opportunities and to bank liquidity gained by increasing capitalization, in addition to lower interest rates worldwide.

Loans and credit-lines shot up by 20.1 percent to 196.1 million riyals from 80 million riyals last year.

TUNISIA

Justice Minister Discusses Islamists, Sudan
93AF0536A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
6 Apr 93 pp 34-35

[Interview with Tunisian Justice Minister Dr. Sadok Chaabane in Cairo; date not given: "Security and Judicial Agreements Between Egypt and Maghreb Countries To Counter Terrorist Groups"]

[Text] Dr. Sadok Chaabane, Tunisia's minister of justice, said in an interview with AL-MAJALLAH that Tunisia is in process of passing new legislation like Egypt's to counter terrorism, which has been on the upswing in some countries of the region. He added that his country has decided to suspend its relations with Sudan: Tunisia's ambassador to Khartoum will not resume his duties until the Khartoum regime reconsiders and finally stops nurturing extremist elements and interfering in the internal affairs of the Tunisian people.

AL-MAJALLAH met the Tunisian minister during his visit to Cairo. The following interview took place.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Is it true that there are contacts between Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria to draft a security and judicial agreement aimed at countering the activities of terrorist groups?

[Chaabane] There are indeed contacts currently. The Maghreb countries, represented by Algeria and Tunisia, and Egypt have recently been subjected to intensified activity by groups that engage in terrorism and violence. As the activity of these groups has increased, it has been necessary to seek a way to counter them. The three countries believe that the only solution is an agreement on constructive cooperation between the countries threatened by this danger. Agreements already exist between Egypt and Tunisia to protect our society from all manifestations of extremism and terrorism. The two countries have long been known for their ability to draw together and cooperate in the political and economic fields in past years. Thus, this cooperation needed to be developed to include the activities of terrorist groups, now that their danger has increased, so as to draft new agreements further to block the activities of these groups. We in Tunisia have already been able to deal with this phenomenon to a great extent in a way marked by complete determination and sufficient clarity.

Permanent Strategy

[AL-MAJALLAH] You said that Tunisia has been able to eliminate many terrorist elements through a clear strategy. What is that strategy? How far have the government's efforts gone?

[Chaabane] Our treatment of the terrorism phenomenon in Tunisia has not been merely a security treatment; it has gone beyond that to a true political and information settlement. This is the course Egypt and Algeria are now taking. The strategy was clear. It was based on exposing all aspects of the extremist activity of these groups, baring it completely before public opinion, and working to isolate it from civil society and its organizations through the various information media. In addition, we looked for deterrent security methods to confront the leaders and activists in these groups and bring them to fair trials. It became clear to us that such groups in their undertakings did not aim so much at promoting and advancing religion as at exploiting religion to achieve personal ends; nor did they understand religion correctly. I am sure that by managing to sign joint agreements with Egypt, Algeria, and other countries soon, we shall have succeeded in carrying the Tunisian strategy fully to these countries to block these groups and counter their activity. The agreements will include exchange of dangerous persons and quick resolution of crimes they have committed, so that they are tried before their countries' courts without delay or postponement.

Crimes of Torture

[AL-MAJALLAH] What is the truth of the charges leveled at the Tunisian government of committing crimes of torture and maltreating citizens in prisons?

[Chaabane] These charges currently have no basis in truth, as proved by the testimony of many international groups and organizations, including Amnesty International and the United Nations Committee on Human Rights. They all have praised the measures the government has taken to guarantee the rights of its citizens to defend themselves, particularly those accused in cases and crimes. We are dealing with crimes of violence and terrorism without resorting to emergency courts or special laws. True, we admit that some excesses involving length of detention period took place two years ago in dealing with the terrorism phenomenon. President Zine El Abidine admitted them. He ordered several committees formed so that these excesses might be investigated by Tunisian figures of known competence and honesty. The government implemented the committees' recommendations. It ordered an inquest into those who committed the excesses and even made them known in the information media so that the people might learn of them without any hiding of the facts.

[AL-MAJALLAH] How do you explain human rights reports about unfair trials of members of the military wing of the Ennahdah movement?

[Chaabane] Had we in Tunisia wanted to hold unfair trials, we would not have opened Tunisia to host humanitarian and international organizations and the world media. Also, we would not have made the trial proceedings public, attended by lawyers from Tunisia and outside Tunisia freely chosen by the defendants without any pressure. We would not have opened the doors of the courts to the international media and reporters to transmit the events of the trials and write about them freely and even interview the defendants in prison. If there had been unjust trials as you say, we in Tunisia would have resorted to holding a special trial, protecting ourselves behind it by secrecy; but we did not do so. We wanted by these trials to prove to national and international public opinion that Tunisia no longer feared the extremist and terrorist groups, that the only basis was the law, and that the issue between us and the crimes of these groups would be settled by a just judicial decision.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Are there contacts with Interpol to apprehend Ennahdah's fugitive leaders and turn them over to Tunisia?

[Chaabane] Of course there are urgent contacts, particularly because these fugitives have been sentenced for crimes they committed that greatly damaged the peace and security of the country. We base these requests of ours on bilateral agreements and collective treaties that regulate such crimes and the extradition of criminals. At the same time, we are asking the countries to which these fugitives have fled to abide by their obligations under the agreements and the principles of international law in the area of political asylum and the extradition of criminals.

Tension Between Tunisia, Sudan

[AL-MAJALLAH] What has happened regarding the recent tension between Tunisia and Sudan? Do you have evidence that Sudanese elements in Tunisia are involved with certain extremist elements to carry out sabotage operations?

[Chaabane] We in Tunisia are still holding to our position; we have not changed it. We are sure, on indubitable conclusive evidence, that al-Bashir's regime has interfered extensively in Tunisia's internal affairs. Direct or indirect contacts between certain extremist elements in Tunisia and the Sudanese leadership have increased greatly in the past months. We became certain that these elements wanted to harm the interests of Tunisia and its people. They were preparing to commit a series of sabotage operations to foment chaos, destroy security in the country, and help extremists with weapons and money. When we became convinced by adequate evidence that Sudanese interference had gone too far and threatened Tunisia's stability, we responded at once to the Sudanese plots. We withdrew our ambassador from Khartoum and announced the suspension of our relations with Sudan. We will not send the Tunisian ambassador back to Sudan to carry out his duties until the regime in Khartoum reconsiders and stops interfering in the internal affairs of the Tunisian people.

[AL-MAJALLAH] What is your comment on what is happening now in Algeria, it being one of the countries of the Arab Maghreb Union?

[Chaabane] Algeria is a brother country. We are brothers in the Arab Maghreb Union, sharing land and history. They are the people closest to us, and we are the people closest to them. However, at the time when Tunisia chose a certain approach toward extremist movements, Algeria made a different choice. Each of the experiments brought its own benefit. Algeria's option has made it clear to Algerians and international public opinion that the extremist movements do not adhere to the democratic process and that they were preparing to kill democracy as soon as the elections were over.

REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

Al-Bid on YSP, Other Parties, Elections

93LH0005D London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
5 May 93 p 7

[Interview with 'Ali Salim al-Bid, Yemeni Presidential Council Vice Chairman and YSP Secretary General, in Sanaa on 4 May: "YSP Sweep of Southern Governorates Should Not Cause Concern; Calls for Forming Historic Bloc in Yemeni Chamber of Deputies"]

[Text] Sanaa—'Ali Salim al-Bid, Yemeni Presidential Council vice chairman and YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] Secretary General, has said the fact his party has won most of the parliamentary seats in the southern and eastern governorates in the elections held on 27 April 1993 "does not cause concern," noting that the YSP has been able to win seats in northern governorates, such as Ta'izz, al-Bayda', al-Hudaydah, and even Sanaa and Dhufar, either through YSP candidates or through candidates supported by the YSP. Al-Bid has also called for "forming a historic bloc in the new Chamber of Deputies" in order to "tend" Yemen's democratic experiment which, he believes, has taken its first step.

He believes that relations do exist between his party and the Reform Grouping and he has expressed the hope that a coalition government will be formed of the GPC [General People's Congress], the YSP, and the Reform Grouping.

Following is text of the interview conducted with al-Bid yesterday at the Republican Palace in Sanaa:

[AL-HAYAH] Are you satisfied with the election results? Don't you think that there have been negatives?

[Al-Bid] Before answering this question, I would like to thank AL-HAYAH for keeping up with Yemen's developments. I believe that during your presence here, the second major step has been taken. The first major step in our modern history was the unity. I believe that this is the second step on the path of democracy. As for the election results, we generally feel extremely happy because we have been able, thanks be to God, to hold the

elections on the date we wanted, namely 27 April. We consider this a gain for all of us, regardless of the percentages and the ranking gained by any party. Ranking is in influence and not [in where parties] seem to be at certain times. Generally, we feel satisfied.

[AL-HAYAH] How do you view the future relations with the other parties, and with the GPC in particular?

[Al-Bid] We are interested in relations with all of the parties. We have always stressed the need for coalitionist action, especially under the circumstances we are experiencing, in order to underline care for the experiment. This is why we extend our hands to all parties. But we have special relations with the GPC because the two of us shoulder a responsibility, whether in connection with establishing unity or with tending democracy. Similarly, we in the YSP yearn to create a historic bloc because we believe that our country's current experiment requires the presence of such a bloc. We believe that we, the GPC, and other forces are in a position that makes us eligible to create such a bloc.

[AL-HAYAH] Who are these forces?

[Al-Bid] We believe that the GPC is one of the main forces that can create this historic bloc, if we consider the common denominators that unite us through our programs and our activities, through the experiment we have shared, and through our vision of the future. I call for such a historic bloc to tend this experiment. But I cannot outline this bloc in advance. Let us project the bloc's tasks first and then form the bloc because I believe that the blocs existing in Yemen are not firm. In my estimate, there will be movement. So let us leave matters to the future when the new assembly is confronted with its tasks and its responsibilities.

[AL-HAYAH] What about relations with the Reform Grouping?

[Al-Bid] Relations with the Reform Grouping do, in fact, exist. We are present and we must deal with each other and must look to find out the denominators that unite us under the current circumstance. I believe that if we embrace the logic that politics are the art of the possible, then we can find common denominators and we can work for them. A dialogue has actually been started between us. I, the president ('Ali 'Abdallah Salih), and (Shaykh) 'Abdallah Ibn Husayn al-Ahmar met two days ago (last Sunday) and we had a preliminary discussion on how far we can go to find common denominators and to work together in the coming phase. The GPC exists, the Reform Grouping exists, and the YSP exists and we have to deal with the reality.

[AL-HAYAH] Could this lead to the formation of a government in which all three parties are represented?

[Al-Bid] By God, this is what we aspire for. If we succeed in finding the common denominators between our programs from which we can proceed to draft a program for

the next government, then I see no objection to forming a coalition government comprised of the GPC, the YSP, and the Reform Grouping.

[AL-HAYAH] What, in your opinion, is the most significant accomplishment achieved by Yemen's elections?

[Al-Bid] The most significant accomplishment is that the elections did take place. Elections were the second objective after unity. When we achieved unity, we projected democracy with unity. We have now reached this point and we consider this a sign of development of the Yemeni society. We believe that neither the Algerian experiment nor any other experiment of the sort in the Arab countries has matched our experiment. We wish to establish our experiment with our own conditions. There is no copying and no exporting of any experiment. We in Yemen try to make our own experiment. I believe that we are proceeding on the right path. We have other steps ahead of us and I am optimistic that we will take them, God willing.

[AL-HAYAH] Don't you think the fact that the YSP has won most of the seats in the southern and eastern governorates and has been unable to permeate the other governorates to any noteworthy degree reflects, to a large extent, the presence of remnants of the partition mentality?

[Al-Bid] No, I do not think that this fact causes concern. What has happened is that the masses of the southern and eastern governorates have displayed their loyalty to the YSP and have given the historical judgment that this party, which ruled them for a quarter century, did not torture or suppress them. Today, these masses are saying their word, and we are proud of this word. However, we find now that we have the duty to be present in the entire national arena. The YSP is urged to move to the entire Yemeni arena and to establish a presence where it has not had a presence. There is a number of northern and western districts that support us and the party is exerting efforts to establish its presence everywhere and to express the people's will and aspirations. We will evaluate this experiment soon and we will convene the Central Committee to examine what has developed in the elections, and we will announce our assessment. We believe that what has developed in the southern governorates is not an indicator causing concern but an indicator of which we are proud and which saddles us with the responsibility to establish a presence where we have failed to do so and extend our activity to areas we have not reached yet. Here, I can give you a list of the assembly members who belong to our bloc. (He displayed a list containing the names of 82 deputies who are YSP members or independents who joined his bloc after the party had given them its support in the elections. The list also shows that the YSP has seats in the northern governorates, such as Ta'izz, Dhumar, al-Bayda', Sanaa, Ibb, and al-Hudaydah. In Ta'izz, for example, there are six independent deputies who have been supported by the YSP, in addition to seven deputies from the YSP itself).

[AL-HAYAH] How do you view the YSP's internal situation? It has been noticed that the party has not been able to convene its congress, which is something that you had promised repeatedly prior to the elections. Didn't the recent period merit convening this congress?

[Al-Bid] We talked to you about this previously. It would have behooved us to hold the congress at an earlier time. But the conditions which we experienced, and of most of which you are aware, plus the pressures and problems to which the party was subjected, in addition to our endeavor to establish our activity in what used to be called the Yemen Arab Republic, took time and effort from us. But now that the elections have ended, the party is certainly required to prepare for its congress. The only thing that obstructed the congress was the country's conditions. We tell you again that we do not fear difference within the party. There is no group of human beings amongst whom there are no differences. Differences exist even within the same family. I am confident that our congress will convene and that the party will emerge more united and stronger.

[AL-HAYAH] Will there even be a united position on relations with the GPC?

[Al-Bid] There will be a united position on all issues. We have discussed this issue but numerous rumors distorting the reality have been spread about it.

[AL-HAYAH] What is the truth regarding these rumors?

[Al-Bid] There are two opinions, and both are sincere. One opinion sees that we and the GPC are partners in historical action and that we must preserve this action. Consequently, consideration must be given to establishing more advanced relations with the GPC because the two of us carry within ourselves two mechanisms of two past systems. The past period has not been enough for a full merger. Therefore, and so we and the GPC can avoid problems, we believe that if a joint program is established between us, then there is no objection to proximity and to developing relations to attain unity between the YSP and the GPC. In practice, a lot is being said about programs. But if we take a serious pause, we will be able to elevate our relations in the future. There is an opinion that calls for immediate action and another opinion that says that to ensure success for this action, we must go through arrangements that guarantee successful relations. So there is agreement on the principle of unity in the YSP. As to how and when, there are two opinions.

[AL-HAYAH] Which opinion do you hold?

[Al-Bid] As YSP secretary general, it is my responsibility to tend the situation until a united opinion is developed. But I find that both opinions in the party leadership emanate from an honest viewpoint that aspires for stronger relations with the GPC. I deal with both opinions from my position because it is my duty to unite people. I am the last to express an opinion, unless I find

that the party interest and the country's interest dictate that I express my opinion, as I told you on the day of unity.

[AL-HAYAH] It was your word alone. You said at the time: I will sign the unity [accord].

[Al-Bid] No. It was I and the party.

[AL-HAYAH] You are the one who dragged the party....

[Al-Bid] I dragged the party according to content of the party's history and of its charters and programs. Things were not revealed to me from heaven. Our history and our slogan under which we struggled....

[AL-HAYAH] You, 'Ali Salim al-Bid, said: I will sign the unity.

[Al-Bid] I said it on the basis of what I had concluded from the party's history and program. Yemen's unity was in the party program.

[AL-HAYAH] What was the reason that changed your relations with President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih from estrangement at a certain time to the great degree of harmony that we have found since you last returned from Aden? What has happened practically?

[Al-Bid] The responsibility is ours and we both fear for the country and for the gains that we have made together. At a certain time, there were certain difficulties about which we talked to you in Aden last September. We believe that man must take time to ponder matters and to deal with issues responsibly and deliberately. I believe that our duty called for this. I say that we must always think of civilized means to express an opinion. Today, we have overcome all those problems peacefully and we have not been drawn to that which Yemen's enemies and the enemies of unity and democracy wanted to draw us. We have been able to stand up, tackle our affairs, and seek a solution. We have adopted whatever common denominators have materialized and we are trying to develop a common conviction on whatever denominators have not been sufficiently crystallized. We had to shoulder our responsibility because we could have all slipped into difficult circumstances that would have threatened our country's safety. To avoid such developments, we have had to act responsibly, to stick to each other, and to work for Yemen and not for anything else. If we disagree, we must learn how to manage our difference or disagreement. We must be worthy of the trust. It suffices that since achieving unity and democracy, we have fulfilled our promise to the people. I am personally convinced that we embarked on democracy when unity was achieved. So far, I believe that this is good work that can be perpetuated. People more capable than ourselves may come to develop the Yemeni society.

[AL-HAYAH] Does this mean that it is possible you will not run as a candidate for the position of vice president?

[Al-Bid] Not necessarily. I believe that the job I have performed is adequate. In the period between unity and

democracy, I felt worried. But God be thanked, we have, despite all the difficulties, taken this step. I am confident that the wheel will turn and that the people will produce those who are more capable than ourselves. I am personally convinced of what has been accomplished. But there is a party that has its leadership and its tendencies, and I am confident that it can march forward with or without me. Moreover, Yemen can march forward with us or with others. Initially, the people attached the responsibility to 'Ali and me ('Ali Salih and 'Ali al-Bid). But now, there is an elected Chamber of Deputies to which we refer and which has its responsibility to develop the state and to complete all future measures. We will all cooperate to serve our country. It is enough for us that Yemen is moving forward step by step. Even if these steps are small, the important thing is that there is progress.

Salim Salih on Government, Relations in Gulf

93LH0005C London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
6 May 93 p 7

[Interview With YSP Assistant Secretary General Salim Salih Muhammad by Iqbal 'Ali 'Abdallah in Aden on 2 May: "National Coalition Government and Efforts to Merge Institutions in Real Unity Are a Must; YSP Assistant Secretary General Considers Coming Period in Yemen Transitional Period"]

[Text] Aden—Salim Salih Muhammad, YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] assistant secretary general and Yemeni Presidential Council member, said, "The results achieved by the YSP in the country's first legislative elections, held on 27 April 1993, are honorable because the YSP ranked second and not third, as stated at the press conference held last Saturday in Sanaa by members of the Supreme Elections Committee, led by Sadiq Amin Abu-Ra's, head of the Supreme Committee's technical subcommittee."

In an interview with AL-HAYAH in Aden last Sunday, Salim Salih added, "The YSP has reaffirmed its firm and principled position to accept any results produced by the polling boxes because what Yemen has experienced in these elections represents the true beginning for establishing the democratic course which we have chosen to follow and to which we have given our blessing in order to enrich a political life founded on party pluralism."

Salim Salih considers the "coming period a transitional period because we have to merge the institutions in true unity."

He has also asserted that the "party has filed challenges in more than one electoral district where some unlawful acts have taken place" and announced that the "party has resorted to the judiciary so they will say the final word on the matter." Following is the text of the interview:

['Abdallah] Do you reject the results announced by the Supreme Committee last Saturday morning?

[Muhammad] We do not reject them. What we reject is the approach that has tried to depict independents as a bloc that has no connection with the parties. Meanwhile, there have been cases in which the elections law has been violated, as in the case of military personnel who had not submitted their resignations but who still ran as candidates of parties such as the GPC [General People's Congress] and the Reform Grouping.

[Abdallah] A Reform Grouping representative in the Supreme Elections Committee has accused YSP members in the southern governorates of pressuring and influencing voters to cast their votes for YSP candidates. What do you say about this?

[Muhammad] Reform Grouping representatives and some candidates who lost in the elections have now embraced the approach that the best defense is a good offense. This is why they attack us so they will not be on the defensive, especially in areas where they influence the conditions. These people have almost gotten the country into a [civil] war. There has been more than incident in these areas and there have been numerous fatalities. We are surprised that the Reform Grouping representative would talk in a tone that belittles things and that views the victims as if they were not Yemenis and they were not citizens who had the right to live! The YSP defies anybody to show that this party has committed a violation against him or that the party has taken any polling boxes to any place [illegally]. The elections were conducted properly, except in some governorates which experienced some violations of the law, such as Hajjah, Sanaa, and Ma'rib.

[Abdallah] You wagered on your presence in the northern governorates but the results have proven otherwise.

[Muhammad] This matter requires a true evaluation. However, I say that the fact of our presence cannot be denied by anybody. What happened in some northern governorates is that the votes were dispersed. Moreover, the YSP has no facade in the northern governorates because it had engaged in underground activity there in the past. Since unity was accomplished on 22 May 1990, the party has had an open presence there. This is why I emphasize that we should not think of what happened there as a defeat, but as the beginning of the path in democratic life.

[Abdallah] Will you stay in the government in the wake of these election results?

[Muhammad] I believe that the coming period is a transitional period and that we, as leadership and as parties, must consider the manifestations produced by the elections seriously and logically. These manifestations must be considered and examined deliberately and carefully. The fact that the YSP has completely swept the southern provinces reflects a situation for which we are responsible. The same applies to the GPC which has, in coordination with other parties, swept some governorates completely. This is why I say that the coming period

will continue to be a transitional period. We must work to merge the institutions in a true unity and must preserve and protect them in a way that leads to the total unity. This is one aspect. The other aspect concerns our presence in or absence from the government. I say that the GPC is in the same position as the YSP and that neither can abandon the other in this historic moment. I believe that the presence of the GPC and YSP in the government within the framework of a single parliamentary bloc, on which they have had prior agreement, is the right approach to keep matters and conditions moving in a direction that enables us to preserve the course of unity and democracy.

[Abdallah] Does this mean that you will continue to be the two parties in power?

[Muhammad] It is my assessment that the field will be open and that the YSP and GPC will be the two parties in power no longer. In any new formation, there has to be a national coalition government, that is if other parties, especially the Reform Grouping, agree to join the single parliamentary bloc comprising the GPC and YSP.

[Abdallah] It has been noticed recently that you have launched a propaganda campaign against the Reform Grouping. Is there a crisis between the two of you?

[Muhammad] The YSP has already formed committees for dialogue with all the parties, including the Reform Grouping, with whom we have held several meetings. But it seems that there is in the Reform Grouping a tendency that works to torpedo all these meetings. Reform Grouping papers have attacked us and made accusations against our elements and our leadership. We in the YSP try to exercise self-restraint and not to slide into this bickering in the press. We try as much as possible to entrench the principle of dialogue and of letting all parties present their programs and ideas clearly and without any intimidation from any source because Yemen's interest is above the parties' interest.

[Abdallah] Reports indicate that the presidential council, comprised currently of five members, of whom you are one, will be reduced to just the president and vice president, namely President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih and Vice President Salim al-Bid. Should this happen, we wonder where your position will be?

[Muhammad] The country is in need of profound major reforms, especially at the political and economic levels and in other sectors. This reform requires agreement among the influential parties, particularly between the YSP and the GPC, considering that they accomplished unity democratically. But I will say that debates are currently underway regarding constitutional reforms. The presidency issue constitutes a part of these debates which flow into the framework of overhauling the political system completely. There are committees that are examining responsibly the nature of the circumstances under which Yemen is living. To date, the presidential council continues to be present and it will continue as it is.

[Abdallah] Meaning that there will be no change in the presidential council?

[Muhammad] This is another issue, and I can neither confirm nor deny it. But I can say that it is one of the issues that will be debated by the leadership and by the parties.

[Abdallah] In light of the election results and of the fact that the GPC has won the majority of seats in the new parliament, who will form the government?

[Muhammad] There is a coalition, and it is an open coalition. According to the agreement we have with the YSP, the government will be formed by the united parliamentary bloc. If others wish to join us in this bloc, the door is open.

[Abdallah] Failure to merge the military and security institutions has, according to some parties, influenced the election results because these institutions have continued to be divided between the YSP and the GPC. What are the true reasons for the failure to unify these institutions?

[Muhammad] The armed forces have been partially merged. But in the past, the process did not advance at the pace we wanted. I believe that this aspect will be one of the issues with which the new government, as well as the political leadership, must deal.

[Abdallah] It has been noticed that you have continued to stay in Aden. Is there a crisis within the leadership or in your party that makes you retreat to Aden?

[Muhammad] To begin, I have not retreated to Aden, and this is not my way. It is true that there are problems, differences, and disagreements in viewpoints. But we accept them within the framework of opinion and counter opinion. However, I stress that there are no real and decisive disagreements within the leadership or within the party. Everybody is above such things. The YSP has established the principle of democracy which

serves the country and the parties numerous dangerous pitfalls. I am in Aden at present because I have been assigned by the party to supervise some southern and eastern governorates, to follow up on the conditions, and to support YSP candidates in the elections.

[Abdallah] In your election platform, it is noticed that there has been a change in your viewpoint on dealing with the neighboring Gulf states. Does this mean that your party regrets the decision to support Iraq during the 1990 Kuwait invasion and are you seeking rapprochement with Saudi Arabia?

[Muhammad] I cannot say that we regret it. But I say that Yemen has paid an exorbitant price within the context of the past climate and past mentalities that have led to Yemen's current crises. I believe that we should leave it to history to evaluate this decision. Our mission at present is to restore the bridges that were destroyed by the Gulf crisis and Gulf war. We must elevate the relations with the neighbors from the deteriorating condition to which they have slipped to a new level. This is how our party sees the solution to the problem.

As for relations with the Saudi brothers, we are dealing with a new situation that dictates that all approach it with a comprehensive viewpoint. It also dictates that we establish a new system of relations, whether with our neighbors or with others. In the past, there were those who depicted the Gulf states, including Saudi Arabia, as our enemy and who depicted us the same way to the brothers in the Gulf and the [Arab] Peninsula. Some forces benefited from this portrayal. After the losses that we have all suffered, we now realize, perhaps too late, that that portrayal was an illusion and that there were those who nurtured this illusion. I stress that the YSP thinks now with a new mentality and within the framework of the order of priorities established in our foreign policy. We hope that normalcy will be restored, especially with the brothers in Saudi Arabia, considering that the border issue is being currently discussed with utter earnestness on the basis of the legitimate rights of both sides and of equal relations.

AFGHANISTAN

Mojaddedi on Passports for Extremists, Talks

93LA0042A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
9 May 93 p 5

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Siddiqi and Taj-al-Din 'Abd-al-Haqq: "During Visit to UAE, Mojaddedi to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: I Warn of Danger of Granting Passports to Radical 'Afghans'"]

[Text] Abu Dhabi—Sebghatollah Mojaddedi, chairman of the former Afghan Provisional Council, has warned of the danger of passports issued by the Government to some Arab radicals who joined the Afghan mujaheddin. He has also disclosed that he has turned down an offer by Golboddin Hekmatyar, the prime minister designate, to assume the Defense Ministry in the new government. Mojaddedi also holds factional leaders responsible for faltering implementation of the peace accord.

Mojaddedi made these statements in an interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Abu Dhabi, where he is on an official visit to the UAE [United Arab Emirates]. UAE President Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan received Mojaddedi yesterday and discussed with him the current situation in Afghanistan and the efforts being made to establish peace and security there.

During the meeting, Shaykh Zayid urged the Afghan factions to embrace the language of dialogue and understanding, instead of internecine fighting that harms the Afghan cause, to settle their disputes.

In his interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, Mojaddedi said that the current Afghan Government issues Afghan passports to Arabs who joined the mujahidun and that he personally refused to take such a step when he was provisional president because he was aware of its danger and consequences.

Mojaddedi expressed his profound appreciation for the "Arab mujahidun's" activities and role. But he said there was no actual need for them to join the revolution because there were enough Afghan mujaheddin. He added that some of those who joined the Afghan mujaheddin ranks had goals beyond supporting the Afghans to defeat the communist regime and that they were tied to organizations and bodies which had their own political objectives and ends. Mojaddedi pointed out that he opposed any attempt to turn the Afghan revolution into a field of training and to export this revolution to other Islamic countries. He said that Islam rejects all kinds of terrorist acts and that it is based on the principle of "no excess and no squandering."

Expects no Solution

Responding to a question on what he expects from the current meetings between the mujaheddin leaders in Jalalabad, Mojaddedi said that he doesn't "expect the Afghan leaders to develop any stable accord," adding

that violations of the peace accord started as soon as that accord was signed and that to date, the government hasn't been formed in the manner stipulated by that accord.

Mojaddedi pointed out that he has turned down an offer by Hekmatyar, who has been assigned to form the cabinet in accordance with the accord, to assume the Defense Ministry, which is one of the disputed elements, and that he proposed in return that Hekmatyar name somebody from his, Mojaddedi's, faction to assume the ministry. As to whether he believes that it is possible that mediation efforts will be resumed to develop agreement among the Afghan factions, Mojaddedi said, "We are too shamefaced to ask for mediation, especially since we have committed ourselves to an accord but haven't fulfilled our commitment."

He asserted that the responsibility falls on the shoulders of the factional leaders solely and that personal ambitions and the desire for power are the main reason why a stable accord hasn't been developed. Mojaddedi has discarded the possibility of intervention by foreign powers in the domestic Afghan conflict. But he has said that some foreign powers want to have influence in the Afghan arena and that this doesn't mean, however, that they intervene directly to secure this influence.

Mojaddedi has held Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani, Defense Minister Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, and 'Abdol Rasul Sayyaf responsible for the faltering implementation of the latest accord, saying that these people have refused to name their representatives to the committees that are scheduled to be formed in accordance with the accord to run the ministries of finance and defense.

He Wants to Retire, But...

On the reasons for his moving away from the Afghan arena, Mojaddedi said that prior to the jihad phase, he lived with his children in Denmark and that he returned to Afghanistan in wake of the Soviet occupation. But now that the occupation has ended and that his provisional presidency term has been concluded, he has returned to Denmark for treatment and rest.

As to whether this means that he has retired from political action, Mojaddedi said that he wants to retire but people "cling to my political role and get me involved in politics forcefully whenever I wish to quit." However, he will not enter the palace where the mujaheddin leaders meet and he will make his contacts with them from outside.

As to whether he would agree anew to assume control of affairs in Afghanistan as a compromise candidate, Mojaddedi said that his agreement would be tied to attaining a certain degree of security. Responding to a question on the decision to pardon Najibollah, the toppled president, Mojaddedi said this decision was made as part of the general amnesty decree.

He said that the general amnesty he declared after he assumed power was necessary because it was not possible to execute or try 100,000 Afghan communists, noting that Najibollah was one of these communists. He said that if he had executed Najibollah or brought him to trial, the decree would have lost its credibility. He also said that prominent communist leaders apologized for their role and expressed their regret.

BANGLADESH

Foreign Minister Rahman Interviewed on Relations With India

93AS0770A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
16 Apr 93 p 9

[Interview with Mustafizur Rahman by Manash Ghosh: "Pushback a Gimmick, Says Dhaka"; place and date not given]

[Text] Dhaka, April 15—The Bangladesh Foreign Minister, Mr Mustafizur Rahman, holds India entirely responsible for the worsening of bilateral relations between the two countries. He blames India's Operation Pushback and "Delhi's refusal" to give Bangladesh its rightful share of the Ganga waters as the main factors responsible for bilateral ties hitting rockbottom.

He feels relations between the two countries can never improve unless India follows international laws and conventions guiding Operation Pushback and gives Dhaka its due share of the Ganga waters. "We cannot talk to India when a large part of our territory is in the grip of a near-famine situation and threatened to be turned into a desert. Before any talks can begin, India has [to] build trust and confidence," Mr Rahman said.

In an interview with THE STATESMAN here yesterday, Mr Rahman said the key to improving bilateral ties lay in India giving Bangladesh its due share of Ganga waters. "Everything else will settle once the water problem is resolved. This includes our granting surface transit facility for the movement of Indian goods from Chittagong Port to Tripura," he added.

The following are some excerpts of the interview with the Bangladesh Foreign Minister:

Question: Why relations deteriorated sharply in recent months?

Answer: Who is to be blamed for this? You started pushing people into our territory without ever talking to us. No law or rule was observed while you undertook this exercise. Since you were pushing these people into our territory, the onus was on you to prove they were our nationals. How can we accept anyone as our national without any supporting evidence? Even your own intellectuals have questioned the basis for the pushback.

Question: Was Operation Pushback the only provocation for the deterioration in our relations?

Answer: After our Prime Minister's successful visit to Delhi last May, we had thought that it would open new vistas of cooperation. We had expected that, as a follow-up to our request, your Government would immediately announce that Jamdani sarees would be imported duty-free. But you took almost a year to give us this concession. And it came at a time when our relations were at their worst. Had you shown this gesture in May, our present relations would have been different.

Question: The infiltration problem is serious and has brought about serious demographic changes in many parts of India. Why is it that Bangladesh does not even acknowledge the existence of the problems.

Answer: What hurt us most was the manner and the timing of Operation Pushback. It was nothing but a political gimmick. Also, when you quote such figures as six million Bangladesh nationals living in India, obviously we have to be on our guard. When we met Mr L.K. Advani, he also quoted a figure in millions. We know your Government's political compulsion for undertaking this exercise. But this cannot be resolved unilaterally. Delhi has never given us any figure. I was also a Minister in the Zia-ur-Rahman Government. But never did India tell us that there were millions of Bangladesh nationals living on its soil. It was only last year that your Government quoted figures. Why was it silent earlier? Your Government gave them ration cards and your leaders enrolled them as voters. Your Government played its cards wrong and callously.

Question: It is not only that Bangladesh nationals are infiltrating but even hundreds of thousands of those who go to India with valid travel documents never return home. The Haridaspur checkpoint near Bongaon, alone, has a figure of several hundreds of thousands who did not return to Bangladesh.

Answer: Why has your Government not been saying so? For the past 15 years, your Government has talked only of border trespassing. Having absorbed these people into your system, you suddenly want to throw them out. Why?

Question: Is the high-pitched campaign on Farakka in your country going to improve relations with India? Why are you making Farakka such an emotional issue?

Answer: The flow in the Ganga has reached its lowest—9,500 cusecs—at the Hardinge Bridge. If you do not give us enough water, the Ganga and its tributaries will dry up during the lean season which, in future, may force our people to migrate upstream even to your country.

U.S. Law Said Threatening Exports

93AS0770B Dhaka DIALOGUE in English 2 Apr 93 p 5

[Article by Mahbubul Alam: "U.S. Child Law Threatens Bangladesh Exports"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Bangladesh's thriving garment industry may be in for serious trouble if it fails to absolve itself of the charge of hiring child labour. And the sooner the better.

A move is reportedly underway on Capitol Hill in Washington DC to ban import of garments and other goods manufactured by child labour. A Democrat senator from Iowa Tom Harkin is about to initiate legislation in U.S. congress seeking to ban importation of garments and other goods manufactured by industries which employ child labour.

If Bangladeshi garments come within the mischief of the proposed legislation, it will seriously hurt the industry which has over the years emerged as one of the major exporters of garments to the highly-competitive and choosy U.S. market. The garment industry has projected foreign exchange earnings at \$1.3 billion this year.

The earnings from garments exports stood at \$461.84 million during July-December 1991. During the corresponding period of 1992 export earnings from this sector rose to \$618.74 million.

Bangladesh Garment Exporters Manufacturers' Association (BGEMA) has expressed concern over the proposed bill.

In the face of mounting criticism against child labour in export-oriented garment industries, the Bangladesh government in a timely move in early March banned employment of workers under the age of 14 in the garment industry and directed all concerned to comply with the order immediately.

The government has in another prohibitory order directed that no woman worker shall be put on night shift.

Bangladesh along with certain other developing countries has been under pressure from America's anti-child labour groups for some time not to employ children as industrial workers but to establish more facilities for education and healthcare so that when they attain the age of 14 they can start contributing to the nation's industrial and other development sectors. These groups also maintain that the management of industries should run Day Care Centres and clinics for those children who accompany working mothers to their workplace.

The plain-speaking U.S. ambassador to Bangladesh William B. Milam echoed not only the American concern but also that of the international community when he told an 'open discussion' at the Dhaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry on March 17 that employment of child labour in the garment industries could invite serious problems for the industry. He was referring to a U.S. move to ban import of textile items from the manufacturers who engage child labour. The envoy's remarks were candid and he brought home in no uncertain terms the consequences of hiring child labour. The ambassador said when he was taken round a garment factory in Chittagong, he had not seen any child labour

in front of machines but in the afternoon when the workers were leaving the premises after work he saw many child workers including 10-year-olds. If seeing is believing, the ambassador does not have to be told whether that factory actually employs child labour.

The U.S. network television NBC recently created a stir in American homes by broadcasting a programme linking the U.S. retailing giant, Wal-Mart, with "exploitative labour practices in Bangladesh." The network reportedly took shots with hidden cameras of children working in a garment factory in Bangladesh. The programme alleged that garments made by Bangladeshi girls were later sold in some Wal-Mart stores—even though the chain was featuring a "Made in America promotional campaign at that time."

NBC Programme

The NBC programme made a profound impact on viewers. As a result of the programme, the Wal-Mart is considering a number of options, such as making financial contributions to primary schools in Bangladesh, according to Terry Collingsworth, general counsel for the International Labour Rights Education and Research Fund (ILRERF).

ILRERF and the Asian-American Free Labour Institute (AAFLI) and other similar groups are expected to throw their support behind legislation crafted by Senator Harkin, whose Child Labour Deterrence Act of 1992 would have prohibited the importation of any product, made whole or in part, by children under the age of 15 employed in industry or mining.

The measure was introduced too late last year for passage, it is slated for re-introduction some time this month.

All export-oriented industries will be directly hit by a blanket U.S. ban on importation of their products if they employ child labour. It is for the government of Bangladesh to enforce its ban on employment of child labour in the garment industry and ensure and certify that no garment industry in Bangladesh has in their employ any child labour. A word of caution here will be in order. When the government certifies, it must fully satisfy itself that there is actually no child labour in employment, otherwise its own credibility will go down the drain which will be even more disastrous for the country's image.

Based largely on government-provided data, the Geneva-based ILO concluded in 1986 that over 200 million children under the age of 15 worked for a living. Children of this age group constitute 11 per cent of the total workforce in some Asian countries. A 1991 ILO study revealed that half of the 50,000 children working as bonded labourers in the weaving industry in Pakistan would never reach the age of 12 due to disease and malnutrition.

Experts believe that the Indian carpet industry employs some 300,000 bonded children and sells about 40 per cent of its products to U.S. importers. Recent press reports in the U.S.A. have described small girls knotting rugs in Morocco; Indian boys producing scissors—and destroying their lungs with inhaled metal fragments—and Indonesian children manufacturing light bulbs for the equivalent of \$3 a week.

The abysmal condition of children in different poor developing countries has prompted the children's rights groups to extend support to enacting an U.S. law which, in their opinion, "has real leverage in the form of its buying power" to exert pressure on foreign companies that use child labour.

The garment industry in Bangladesh, which is naturally disturbed at the latest moves on Capital Hill, should act quickly to preempt the harmful effects of the proposed legislation by strictly complying with the government ban on hiring of child labour and laying off those who may be still on their payroll. Such action brooks no delay not only in their own interest but in the long term interests of the country as well. The steadily growing garment industry of this country comprises some 1,500 units at present employing over 700,000 workers 80 per cent of whom are women. This industry has built up a reputation in the U.S. market, as well in other countries of the world, by winning buyer's confidence in the quality and competitive prices of its products. It cannot afford to lose this coveted market which is the target of all manufacturing industries of the world.

Objective Condition

Already the objective condition in this country is such that despite government's repeated invitations to foreign investors they have shied away. A number of factors are responsible for the poor response from prospective investors. Adversarial relationship between worker-government-employer, the hostility of not only labour but of the government towards foreign investment, in the words of William B. Milam, and labour unrest coupled with strict bureaucratic control in these days of deregulation have created a condition which is far from congenial to investment and industrialisation.

The finance minister's bold statement that potential investors are "frightened away" owing to industrial unrest and his assurance that the government would not allow a handful of people to hold the economy hostage through terror tactics should soothe the tensed nerves of potential investors. The statement should also boost the confidence of investors in the determination of the government to firmly deal with forces which hurt the economy. An American ban on importation of garments from Bangladesh for employment of child labour will deliver a severe blow to the economy as it will set off a chain reaction of a fall in foreign exchange earnings, unemployment and closures. We would also do well to heed the U.S. ambassador's well-meaning counsel that

when even local investors are shy, one cannot expect foreign investors to come to Bangladesh.

Shifting Political Alliances Viewed

93AS0770C Dhaka DIALOGUE in English 9 Apr 93
p 5

[Article by Moinuddin Naser: "And Now Secular Democrats and Patriotic Democrats"]

[Text] A new realisation in politics has probably gripped the politicians of the country. And at the mid-point of the five-year term of the ruling Bangladesh National Party (BNP) this realisation is quite significant and of great interest to watch.

The individual, politicians who have become frustrated, with the traditional process of opposing the government or otherwise habituated to go for surreptitious deals with extra political forces are trying to fall in line with different new emerging forces with fresh commitment in politics.

Amidst slogans to dividing the nation as pro-Liberation camp and pro-Indian camp by two rival sects of traditional politicians, a new polarisation has come to surface mainly through the emergence of two separate political forums, one led by Dr Kamal Hossain and the other led by Khandker Mushtaque Ahmed.

Meanwhile, Dr Kamal Hossain, who claims to be the leader of the nationalist secular forces, has announced 62-member preparatory committee for holding a grand convention to chalk out a future political programme aimed at waging a movement to institutionalise democracy. On the other hand, Khandker Mushtaque Ahmed as chairman of his newly floated National Democratic Alliance (NDA) is vying for unity of patriotic nationalist forces.

The initiative of Dr Kamal Hossain has been mostly responded to by persons who are unhappy about the present state of running the Awami League by its chief Sheikh Hasina and a host of her personally loyal people.

On the other hand, the National Democratic Alliance is taking all the patriotic forces into its fold, most of whom believe in the politics of BNP but cannot ally themselves with the ruling party due to the presence of their adversaries in the BNP.

Political Pattern

But still the BNP has remained the major party which is attracting many leaders from other parties including the Awami League into its fold.

It is quite apparent that the politicians have started thinking anew their personal and political pattern of behaviour. It is a good sign that the politicians who are now running individually are trying to get together as a result of this new realisation.

The leaders of Freedom Party except Col (ret'd) Farook Rahman who used to criticise Khandker Mushtaque have now joined him. Virtually Mushtaque who was the political leader of the 1975 August coup has been almost dragged out from virtual retirement to steer the NDA, the main sponsor of which is the Freedom Party.

Salhauddin Quader Chowdhury of NDP and Shafiul Alam Proshan of JAGPA [Jatiya Gonotantrik Party] who were supposed to join the NDA have at the last moment opted to remain out of the Alliance. However, recently they have got together to make the people aware about the dire effects of Farakkha and announced a programme jointly on this issue.

The NDA was first proposed by the Jamaat but later Jamaat backed out from the initiative because it has set its eyes on a long-term political programme, for which, they did not think that the Alliance could be a good vehicle. However, there is still time for Jamaat to think for themselves about taking over the leadership of the NDA.

Similarly the democratic secular platform of Dr Kamal Hossain is also being keenly watched by the forces who are unhappy over the present political situation.

Among the reputed individual politicians Mohammad Shajahan Siraj MP [Member of Parliament] joined Dr Kamal Hossain. One time secretary general of BNP and presently Janata Dal leader K.M. Obaidur Rahman has also called on Dr Kamal Hossain and now trying to get himself involved with the politics of Dr Hossain.

CPB Faction

A section of the CPB faction led by Saifuddin Ahmed Manik has decided to join Dr Kamal, while another faction of the NAP [National Awami Party] led by its secretary general Pankaj Bhattachariya is also thinking of joining the new initiative.

Meanwhile, an initiative has been taken to unite the former CPB family comprising the Communist Party of Bangladesh, National Awami Party and Ganatantri Dal. But three key leaders of the three parties Mujahidul Islam Selim (CPB), professor Muzaffar Ahmed (NAP-M) and Suranjeet Sen Gupta (Ganatantri Dal), are opposing the move.

Meanwhile, the lone MP from NAP, professor Abdul Hafiz has already deserted his party and joined the BNP along with his followers, while three other CPB MPs led by Shamshuddoha have also decided to join BNP at any convenient time.

In another dramatic development, the Five Party leader Hasanul Haque Inu of JSD [Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal] has renewed his connection with the Jatiya Party leader and MP Anwar Hossain Manju. Recently Inu attended an Ifar party hosted by Manju at his village home at Bhandharia.

Within the Five Party Alliance AFM Mahbul Haque-led, Bangladesher Samajtantrik Dal has decided to merge with Krishak Sramik Samajbadi Dal led by Nirmal Sen.

The defection and new alignments by the political leaders of different parties against the backdrop of new political slogans of creating two separate political courses such as pro-liberation and pro-Indian by two rival sects is significant.

Probably the process has started in the natural course when the general mass of people are quite fed up with current unproductive political slogans.

Meanwhile, the government has broken its internal inertia, as it was apparent when the government let the police force act against an "illegal gathering" of the Ghatak Dalal Nirmul Committee (the committee did not seek prior permission to hold their meetings) on March 26 and 28.

When the above mentioned changes in the political stand of different individuals and their attempt to gain ground in the politics in a different way other than the traditional political opposition (i.e., a flat no to every deed of the government) are more or less helping the government. On the other hand, the Awami League-led opposition have gotten together to inflict another blow to the government just prior to the much awaited SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] Summit. They have given a call for holding a protest rally on April 8.

Left Political Leaders

The opposition parties are a bit worried at some Left political leaders joining the BNP and at its own gradually diminishing image, since the Awami League is yet to learn to play the role of responsible opposition in a democratic polity.

Political observers are very keen [to] see the future course of development. The government in power which has earned a bad name for its inaction and ineffectiveness in dealing with the political situation should give up its shyness in dealing with day-to-day affairs and also in dealing with its own men, particularly those who are accused of indulging in corruption and self-seeking deals.

On the other hand, the new platforms of secular democrats and patriotic democrats of the country should try to act as catalytic forces to give an institutional shape to our hard earned democracy. But probably this expectation will be unacceptable to them when everything in and around is being conducted for a long period from a sense of intolerance and deprivation.

BNP Seen Failing To Keep Promises on Economy
93AS0770D Dhaka DIALOGUE in English 9 Apr 93
p 6

[Article by Saiful Bari: "BNP's Two-Year Progress Report"]

[Text] While some believe that the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] during its two-year rule has crawled to a gradual stagnation in most sectors of the country's national life, others prefer the view that a "benign beginning" has been made. Observers in between, however, say "to clear the debris of the past autocratic regime," as BNP chairperson likes to call it, two years may not be too long a time, but it is not too short either. Before being voted to power, BNP's much trumpeted programme to make things politically desirable and economically possible in almost no time has fallen short of its claim during the last 24 months, considered too long to be treated as preparation period.

Begum Khaleda Zia and her advisors may like to take the credit for making "remarkable progress" during the last two years, but independent analysts view it as a period of less success and more failure, with most of the burning issues either unattended or even mishandled.

Belying election promises of 1991, the economic landscape is dotted with rusted shells of ailing industries especially jute and textiles, crisscrossed by potholed roads and flooded with smuggled goods. Although the democratically elected government frequently discussed plans and programmes to whip the country's economy into shape, such talk now appears fanciful or at best boils down to canal digging.

With ever-increasing number of landless people and hard-hit farmers, growing unemployment and industrial unrest and worsening of law and order, the government's claim that per capita income has increased to U.S. \$210 in 1993 from \$170 in 1990 seems unrealistic. Also disputed are the figures that the inflation rate has been kept more or less at 5 per cent was against 11 in 1990, 4 per cent growth rate in GDP [Gross Domestic Product], 25 per cent internal resource support to the annual development plan, etc.

Analysts say that when even the "Asian Tigers" with an incredible 8 per cent growth rate could hardly increase the per capita income by \$40, how could Bangladesh achieve that miracle? Despite the government claim of reducing dependence on external assistance considerably, the analysts believe of the total outlay only 3 per cent funding has been made possible out of internal resource to implement projects in the ADP [Annual Development Program].

One can hardly ignore a World Bank report which says "preliminary evidence indicates that economic activity began to accelerate in 1992. Agricultural output (mainly foodgrain) is expected to further expand, while industry is showing signs of recovery." Besides, writes Khozem

Merchant of London's FINANCIAL TIMES, "Prime Minister Khaleda Zia, the country's first democratically elected ruler, can boast substantial progress in economic reforms and, after three bumper crops, near self sufficiency in foodgrains."

True, shortly after the establishment of BNP government in March 1991 it was faced with a slow-down of economic activity caused, in part, by the Gulf crisis and by the cyclone that struck in April 1991. The slow-down, says the World Bank report, was exacerbated by severe flooding in August and September which ravaged agriculture and impoverished the northern part of the country. Industrial production remained depressed during the second half of 1991, and the execution of the public investment programme was sluggish in the face of administrative problems associated with the political transition. Listing some activities of the BNP government, the report says: "To stimulate the private sector, the government lowered interest rate and reduced margin requirements for opening letters of credit for imports. Beginning December 1991, it also began intensive monitoring of the public investment programme to speed up implementation." The report, however, adds that since mid-1990 a programme of fairly wide-ranging structural reforms and private sector development has been initiated in Bangladesh. In agriculture, restrictions on the import, distribution, and sifting of irrigation equipment and power tillers have been eliminated, and the role in private sector has been progressively expanded in fertiliser distribution and marketing. The industrial sector has also been liberalised.

Poverty in Bangladesh, again according to the World Bank, retreated modestly in the early 1980s, but this salutary trend appears to have been halted during 1987-91 by the economic slow down and the devastation caused by the floods of 1988, 1989 and 1991. Admittedly the handling of the post-flood situation earned praise for the BNP government in 1991 but that was neutralised by the mishandling of bigger economic and political issues of national consequence. According to FINANCIAL TIMES, Bangladesh, one of the world's most aid-dependent democracies, has been meeting economic targets set by the international lenders. But it has a long way to go to alleviate its people's poverty and to revitalise its inefficient state industries.

Some fear with reason that two major decisions taken by the present government, one to do away with Upazilla and the other the passing of Anti-Terrorism Act, both in a hurry, will ultimately be counterproductive and end up doing more harm than good.

The ambitious programme announced by the BNP government to expand political rights, fix the economy and curb corruption seems after two years of its rule to have gone with the wind. In effect the BNP government has failed to sweep out the ruling coterie of bureaucracy, another assurance held out before coming to power. In

the process even the World Bank and the donor countries have attributed the slow pace of development to unworkable obstructions created by bureaucrats.

The government got a breathing space to carry out a thorough-going reform of a corrupt and incompetent administration but lost the opportunity, and ended up by becoming too much dependent on it.

Let us look at some facts. Thirty million people still suffer from malnutrition; more than 50 million approved posts of primary teachers are vacant despite the fact that compulsory education has been enforced. As many as 1,556 sick industries owe Taka 12,400 million to the government. Fifteen to 18 per cent savings will be required to achieve a growth rate of 5 to 6 per cent but only 4 to 5 per cent savings have so far been possible out of national income. The share market, an essential part of free economy or market-oriented economy, is in pretty bad shape and the country's only stock exchange company, Dhaka Stock Exchange Ltd is virtually a defunct institution.

The political scenerio is still worse in stability, terrorism, law and order situation and administrative inefficiency.

The result: Begum Khaleda Zia has staked her entire macroeconomic policy and political credibility on the belief that as head of a democratically elected government she would continue to enjoy the confidence of the people since no other political party has done more to drive the autocratic government out of power than her BNP. Her plans to deal with the root of the problems are, however, still woefully vague. Recent political developments point to a more uncertain future. Trapped into the need for escape from students' and labours' pressure politics she will find a tough time in dealing with the opposition threat to launch a fresh movement against the government and the backlash resulting from the mishandling, witting or unwitting, of the Golam Azam issue vis-a-vis the stance taken by the Nirmul Committee. Whether or not the government recognises the activities of the committee, people believe in one thing—sacrifice made by millions during the Liberation War cannot be so easily forgotten or ever go in vain.

Government Credibility Said Suffering 'Irreparable Loss'

93AS0770E Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 2 Apr 93 p 2

[Editorial: "We Condemn"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Not policy decisions but whims appear to have guided government actions against the Nirmul Committee last week. The government employed police and BDR [Bangladesh Rifles] to obstruct and disperse rallies, meetings and processions of the Nirmul Committee on March 26, 28 and 29, but did not disturb the Nirmul Committee on March 31. The government has not explained why it behaved so strangely.

In the bargain, the government has suffered irreparable losses in its democratic credentials. Even its stoutest defenders do not find any justification for police actions against the Nirmul Committee, because the Nirmul Committee is not an unlawful organisation nor the meetings, rallies and processions were declared to be unlawful under Section 144 or any other law. The peaceful rallies and processions of March 31 have served to demonstrate that not the Nirmul Committee but the government itself is the trouble-monger—at least in these cases.

Ironically, the irrational behaviour of the government has become a blessing for the Nirmul Committee. It has drawn wide sympathy and found new issues to carry forward its movement.

We unequivocally condemn the police actions of March 26, 28 and 29 as undemocratic and brutal.

Parliament Said 'Apathetic, Sinful'

93AS0770F Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 2 Apr 93 pp 1, 8

[Article by Enamul Haq: "To Save or Not Save Parliament"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Prime Minister Khaleda Zia may not have asked for it but has qualified, albeit by default, for a place in the Guinness Book of Records. In the 68-day session of the parliament which concluded recently she appeared in the House only on seven of the 32 working days and despite her being the Leader of the House uttered not a single word. That undoubtedly is a parliamentary record! The Members refrained from discussing her apathy and indifference afresh as criticism in the previous sessions failed to bring about a change in her attitude.

Outside the Parliament she has been helicoptering around the country as frequently as possible to ask for institutionalising democracy and urging people to save the country from conspiracies hatched by 'a certain political party', which expression has by now become a familiar jargon to mean Awami League. She owed it to none to offer an explanation why she was contributing so little to strengthening the Parliament which ought to top the list of democratic institutions to be nurtured in this country. If autocracy had destroyed anything completely it was the parliament and, therefore, any honest programme of institutionalising democracy must begin with that body. But unfortunately the track record of the present Parliament, elected most fairly two years ago, is anything but inspiring. Its legislative tally has notched little to be proud of except, of course, the passage of the Twelfth Constitution Amendment Bill which, much to the chagrin of Khaleda Zia's Bangladesh Nationalist Party, returned the country to the polity of parliamentary form robbed by the Fourth Amendment enacted by the Awami League government in January 1975. Awami League is perhaps still paying the price for that fatal assault on parliamentary democracy.

The last session, eighth of the present Fifth Parliament, was the most disappointing in many ways. The Members, irrespective of their benches, demonstrated a persistent lack of interest in attending the sittings forcing the speaker to chastise them again and again for delaying the business. It seems their conscience did not prick even after enjoying a total of 36 days of holidays including two-day weekends, a luxury the rest of the country is not entitled to, and more so after having doubled their salary and allowances in an earlier session. They are surely not unaware of the cost involved in holding a day's sitting—Taka 2000 per minute—in that mammoth building which is now regarded as an architectural masterpiece of Louis Kahn.

As if by way of atonement, all the Members, irrespective of their party affiliation, united to strike down from the statute book a provision in the Members' allowances and remuneration bill passed by them last year, again unanimously, providing for themselves a pension of Tk 1000 on retirement. This act of pure goodness was the result of a Private Member's initiative. While discussing the bill the Members acknowledged that the people had not accepted the provision of pension for MPs [Member of Parliament] in good grace. The sin was committed by the government in introducing the bill last year but the atonement has been done by the Members on their own. Another sin committed by the government in having a legislation passed last year providing for fat rent for the Prime Minister's private residence is yet to be atoned. How can the state pay for her private residence when she has the option to choose from hundreds of decent houses owned by the government? It is like asking the British Prime Minister or the American President or the French President to abandon their official residences and take money to live in their own private houses emulating Bangladeshi example. What kind of law is this? Does not the conscience of the legislators prick while voting for such legislation? Would not the electors be right in asking such a question?

The eighth session will also be remembered with a sense of horror for what a group of leading Awami League Members enacted on the floor of the House on March 10, a day before it was prorogued. These MPs, reportedly led by AL [Awami League] chief whip Md. Nasim, walked up to the Speaker's podium and hurled abuses at presiding Deputy Speaker Humayun Khan Panni in trying to force him to withdraw his decision to allow the Energy Minister to speak before a discussion took place on charges of corruption against his ministry. The matter was made worse by a Minister's "highly irresponsible and dangerously provocative" comparison of the incident to the event of 1958 when another Deputy Speaker Shahed Ali died as a result of violence in the East Pakistan assembly. The Minister was no other than the Acting Deputy Leader of the House Major General (Rtd) Majidul Huq. He was deputising for Prof. Badruddoza Choudhury who was away in Singapore undergoing

treatment for his heart ailment. Neither the prime minister nor the leader of the opposition was present in the house that day. Just for record, Hasina attended the session only for 21 days.

President's Address

Nowhere the apathy of the Members to the proceedings of the House was more pronounced than in debating the motion for a vote of thanks for the President's address on January 3, the opening day of the session. Traditionally, the address is a reflection of the government's doings and future course of action and, therefore, a debate on it allows the Members to discuss all activities of the government and ventilate their thoughts on matters of their concern. But very little seriousness was attached to the debate as it was spread over the whole session as if to fill in the gaps. The address itself was found to have contained quite a few statistical errors. Many Members were critical of it on the ground that it reflected the BNP government's points of view. In the parliamentary tradition what else was it supposed to have reflected? No one took the trouble of correcting this obvious error of understanding. This shows poor knowledge of parliamentary practices on both sides of the House. Very little is being done to overcome this deficiency. Do they know that in Britain the Queen merely reads what the government writes for her at formal opening of the parliament?

It is perhaps high time to pay some attention to the needs of the Parliament if it is to act as the highest institution of democracy. That exercise must begin with the leaders of the political parties, especially the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition, regarding parliament as the principal forum of their activities and not the street which unfortunately they do now. Nothing has yet been done to provide the House with a truly independent and efficient secretariat capable of professionally supporting the Members in discharging their duties within and outside. Educating them in modern-day complicated affairs of the state is as important as providing them with logistic support to communicate with their electors throughout the year. The notion that parliament is an arena for occasional combats between the government and the opposition ought to yield place to modern-day concept of year-round intensive work at the seat of legislature.

Perhaps Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina could set a better example if they extricated themselves from the funny race of holding more and more iftar parties or attending more and more receptions and seminars. It is said of Winston Churchill that even at the height of his war-time power and business he remained 'a good House of Commons man'. That compliment was paid by his Labour Party rival Clement Attlee.

Foreign Investment Opportunities Detailed

93AS0770H Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
5 Apr 93 p 7

[Text] With an average daily wage of around 1.5 U.S. dollar, Bangladesh remains an attractive place for low cost industries. The potential exists particularly in a wide range of labour intensive industries that rely on inexpensive but relatively skilled workers to provide the basis for exports to world markets. Potential also exists in a range of industries that could produce both for the domestic market (with about 15 million people now having least effective purchasing power) and for export.

It is true that investments have not yet picked up as much as has been expected. But, operational facilities for investors, both local and foreign, have been expanded and strengthened over the years. Foreign investments can take duty-free access to American, European and other markets under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). It may be mentioned here imports into the United States from Bangladesh enjoy most-favoured nation (MFN) status.

The Export Processing Zone in Chittagong is proving to be attractive. About 60 units have gone into production there. The success has led the government to set up two more units—one in Dhaka which will go into operation soon and other in Khulna is under development.

Bangladesh welcomes foreign private capital as supplement to local resources to accelerate the pace of industrial growth. The new Industrial Policy places a greater reliance on private initiative, both local and foreign, with increased incentives operating within a more liberal framework. Cent percent foreign investments are allowed anywhere in the country except a few sectors covered in the reserved list, like arms and ammunitions, atomic energy, rail and air transportation, forest extraction. The private sector can invest in all sectors without any ceiling, barring those in the reserved list.

Foreign investment in the form of equity participation or direct investment is permissible in both public and private sectors. There is no ceiling on foreign equity and no rigidity about the extent of foreign participation. The terms and conditions including management contracts are decided on the merit of individual projects.

Besides equity participation, government welcomes technical collaboration with foreign organizations who are in a position to offer such collaboration. Such collaborations are allowed for project which need technology not available in the country and particularly those supporting progressive manufacturing and export. Foreign collaboration is normally encouraged with private sector but, in exceptional cases, public sector may also be allowed to enter into such collaboration with the approval of the government.

Foreign investment in Bangladesh is protected by the Foreign Private Investment (promotion and protection)

Act, 1990 which provides guarantees against nationalization without proper compensation and ensures fair and equitable treatment.

Besides the normal and monetary incentives as a whole, the following facilities constitute special incentives meant for foreign investors only:

01. Exemption from payment of tax on Royalty, Technical know-how and Technical Assistance Fee.

02. Repatriation of capital investments including capital gains, if any.

03. Remittance of all post-tax profits and dividend on foreign capital.

04. Remittance of approved Royalties and Technical Fees.

05. Relief from double taxation in cases of the foreign investors of the countries with whom Bangladesh has agreement to that effect.

06. Income tax exemption on salaries received by foreign technical persons for period of three years, subject to fulfillment of certain conditions.

07. Remittance of 50 per cent of the net salary of foreign nationals per month subject to an approval ceiling.

08. Remittance of savings from earnings, retirement benefits, personal assets of individual or retirement/termination of service.

09. Suppliers credit is allowed on approved terms.

10. Pay As You Earn (PAYE) schemes are liberally approved.

11. Availability of long term credit facilities from industrial financing institutions.

12. No limitation on the percentage of Bangladesh capital in industry when foreign investment is approved.

13. Liberal debt-equity ratio.

14. Expenditure on foreign travels, training, research, etc., are accepted as allowable deduction for the purpose of computation of income, profit and gain from business liable to tax under the Income Tax Act.

Foreigners have now been given free access to the stock market while a programme for reforming the country's capital market is at the final stage of preparation. Foreign investors may own up to 100 per cent of any company. Foreign funds are also freely transferable without any restrictions and multi-currency bank accounts are allowed by the central bank. Prior approval is also not necessary for remittance of capital gains on shares and securities purchased by the foreign investors through the Stock Exchange after withholding the tax payable, if any.

The scope and necessity for the foreign private capital investment is now well recognised because capital formation and technical know-how are limited in Bangladesh. Due to historical and other reasons the flow of foreign investment into Bangladesh was not up to the desired expectation in the past. Following the announcement of the new industrial Policy in mid-1991, a favourable climate for foreign direct investment has been created in Bangladesh. The government's commitment towards encouraging such investments is clearly spelt out through a stronger open-door policy, in conjunction with the privatization policy. Rules and regulations are being framed now to safeguard the patent, design and trade marks, intellectual property rights, etc.

Export-oriented Growth for a Competitive Economy

A greater export-orientation constitutes the major plank of the overall national development strategy. Export promotion schemes to provide technical and financial assistance to exporting firms for diversifying their products to boost the trade are under implementation. Export Development Fund (EPF) would be created under the scheme to provide monetary support to exporters for product development and market promotion. The existing Export Development Fund will also be augmented to offer increased soft credit to export-oriented industries for import of raw materials and machinery. A comprehensive eight year Export Development Strategy is awaiting cabinet approval. Private sector will have more say in policy making as well as implementation regarding exports, as envisaged by the proposed strategy. It will offer greater private sector representation at the Board level of the Export Promotion Bureau and other related organizations.

Recently, the government has withdrawn the Value Added Tax (VAT) on import of capital machinery and lowered further the rate of duty from imported capital machinery for export-oriented industries.

A private sector commission under a recent announcement by the Prime Minister will also be set up shortly to provide stronger institutional arrangements for better coordination of efforts by the government and the private sector for new investment activities and also for the growth of a vibrant private sector.

It is in this context that foreign participation in joint ventures on mutually beneficial terms and conditions is now welcome. This is particularly so in areas of:

- (a) New enterprises, requiring specific technology available to the foreign investor which will make additional net contribution to the economy,
- (b) Undertakings in which more intensive use of natural resources is involved,
- (c) Export-oriented industries,
- (d) Capital intensive technologies and

(e) Existing public or private sector enterprises where infusion of foreign capital or technology will mean an increase in productivity and improvement of the product.

Europe, U.S. Said To View Islam as Greatest Enemy

93AS07701 Dhaka *THE NEW NATION* in English
5 Apr 93 p 5

[Article by Muhammad Ali: "For the West, Islam Replaces Communism"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Muslims throughout [the] world today are having trying times. For their creed, their heads are on the chopping block from end to end. The fall of communism has brought freedom and sympathy for the believers of other faiths, not for the Muslims. Others are being assimilated by the "free" world; the Muslims are being turned into outcasts. Communism has been replaced by Islam and the communists by the Muslims. Islam is being denigrated as the tyrannical order of the medieval ages and the Muslims as the militants and terrorists. Being slapped with the incomprehensible charge of fundamentalism, they are being painted as the mischief-mongers of the day.

In this hostile atmosphere, the Muslims are being meted out with the worst kind of barbarity in various parts of the world. And the marauders are getting away with their heinous crimes with impunity. No one in the "civilised" West has raised even a finger at this savagery. In Bosnia, tens of thousands of Muslims have been butchered by the Serbs in the full glare of the world media. Yet, this has not disturbed the champions of human rights. Only lately, their adversity has evoked some nodding response. In their own land, the Bosnian Muslims have become refugees. Their women are being raped. Their homes are being torched. Their orphaned children are being taken away in droves to God knows where. Yet, all this has failed to prick the conscience of those custodians of humanity who run into tantrums even when their dog is slightly hurt. They seem to be in league with the Serbian thugs for the total decimation of the Bosnian Muslims.

The torment and savagery the Muslims in Bosnia are currently going through has been the fate of their co-religionists in Palestine for the past 45 years. The Israeli usurpers have left no method untried to subdue and annihilate this wretched lot of humanity which in its own homeland has been turned into aliens. What greater human tragedy could there be that 414 Palestinian Muslims be deported from their own homes by a usurper to freeze in the open for weeks. Every night, the "civilised" people, sitting in their warm cosy living rooms, watch these poor souls on their TV screens, stranded in freezing temperatures in the foothills of southern Lebanon. Yet, their hearts are not moved. These unfortunate Palestinians by being Palestinians seem to have forfeited their right to be human beings. Where is the U.N. and

where are those "civilised" people who were so prompt in teaching the Iraqis a lesson and who are now so tardy in dealing with the wickedness of the Israelis? What could be a more eloquent demonstration that the civilised West has one standard to deal with non-Muslims and another to deal with Muslims? All their tall claims to human rights are just a hogwash.

Where was this civilised community when the 400-year-old Babri Mosque of the Muslims at Ayodhya in India was demolished by the Hindu fanatics and when the programme of the Muslims that followed this sacrilegious act went on for days in that land of "secular democracy?" The monstrous act has thrown the very existence of 120 million Muslims of India into jeopardy. Yet, it has left the "civilised nations" untouched. Hundreds of Muslims—men, women, children, even infants—have been hacked to death on the streets of Bombay, Ahmedabad and scores of other cities and towns of the country. Entire families have been burnt alive. Their homes have been torched. Their women have been raped. Thousands of them have left their homes and fled away to nowhere just to escape the saffron onslaught. The country's custodians of law and order who are supposed to protect them have blithely joined in this mayhem. The Government of India itself has shown a criminal negligence in discharging its moral, legal and constitutional obligations to safeguard the lives, properties and places of worship of a minority of its own citizens. Its decision to ban the communal organisations has been a sham. The measure announced with so much fanfare has remained merely on the paper. The Hindu brigands continue prowling the streets uninhibitedly, hunting down the hapless Muslims and hacking them to death. Bal Thackeray and other thugs of his brand keep threatening the Muslims to convert or to leave India or to face dire consequences. Yet, neither the Union nor the State Government, both led by the "secular" Congress Party of India, have taken any action to check the mischief of the saffron gang.

All this has been carried by the media to the homes of the "susceptible" denizens of the civilised world. But not a leaf has flapped there. Neither any human rights organisation has bothered to send any fact-finding mission to report on the misery of these persecuted Muslims in India; nor has any government of the apostles of civilisation thought it fit to convey even a word of concern to the Indian Government over its apathy in safeguarding its Muslim minority.

The unfortunate Muslims of Bosnia, Palestine and India have some consolation; at least, their tragic lot has drawn the attention of the world media. Not so for the poor Kashmiris whose brutal persecution at the hands of the savage troops of the Indian Army recreates the Nazi programme in Europe. A colossal tragedy has befallen these grossly wronged people who were committed the right of self-determination by the world community and promised this right by India itself 45 years ago. India has reneged on this promise and has persistently refused to grant this right to the Kashmiris. Yet, this has not drawn

even a word of censure from the U.N. itself, on whose agenda this issue stays for resolution for the last 44 years; nor from any of the "civilised" nations. In the meantime, the Indian Army has bottled up the Kashmir Valley with its massive armour for the last three years and is engaged in a manslaughter unknown in human history. Men, women and children, all are being slaughtered without any discrimination. The entire villages have been set on fire. The entire families have been wiped out. Young people are being killed or maimed. Children are being sexually abused. Girls are being raped. Even women as old as 80 and girls as young as 10 have not been spared; they have been raped by the trigger-happy soldiers of the occupation Indian Army. All the news that occasionally trickles down the iron-curtain of the Indian Army from the "Valley of Wails" is horrifying.

Yet, the world media has shown an intriguing indifference towards this human tragedy that is being enacted in Kashmir today. Every kind of news is making way to the studios of the world broadcasting networks and the news-rooms of the newspapers; but not the news of Kashmir. CNN and BBC put out on their screens daily the happenings in Bosnia, Somalia and Palestine but none of the two has found worth reporting to its viewers a far greater human calamity being inflicted by the Indian troops on an unarmed civilian population in Kashmir. The Kashmiris seem to be untouchables for both of them. A big corps of Western journalists is based in New Delhi. The community of Western mediapersons is credited with great professional courage and boldness, and is widely reputed for 'jumping into the hell to fetch a story'. But the Western journalists in India have failed to live up to this reputation of their community in reporting on the persecution taking place in their vicinity. Every Western media organisation worth its name has a representative in New Delhi. Yet, none of them has attempted to penetrate the Indian iron curtain on Kashmir to let the world know what is happening there.

Nor has any government of the civilised nations thought it appropriate to put pressure on India to refrain from its gross human rights violations in Kashmir and to persuade New Delhi to honour its commitment to the Kashmiris to grant them their right to decide their own future. If the allied forces could walk into Iraq to punish President Saddam Hussein, if the American troops could fly into Somalia to disengage and disarm the warring factions, what has forbidden the civilised West from coming to the rescue of the wretched Kashmiris from the brutalisation of the barbaric Indian security forces? Have they forgotten that they were a signatory to the U.N. Security Council resolutions that gave the right of self-determination to these people? What has made them to forsake their commitment to human values for extraneous considerations? And why are they rubbing salt to the injuries of Kashmiris by branding them as 'separatists' and 'rebels', knowing fully well that the Kashmiris are not part of India and that they are yet to decide their future? Is it not immoral and callous to describe their

legitimate struggle for securing their UN-guaranteed right to self-determination as a separatist movement? What greater hypocrisy could there be! What greater abominable selectivity in news reporting, articulation of moral values and application of diplomacy could there be!

In such circumstances, only God knows how many Bosnians are being enacted elsewhere; how many Kashmir tragedies are being wrought elsewhere; how many Muslim deportees are meeting the fate of their Palestinian brethren elsewhere; how many Babri Mosques are being demolished elsewhere; and how many Muslims are fleeing their homes like their brethren in India to escape their tormentors.

This holds a moral for the Ummah. Let the Muslims know that they can safeguard their interests and protect their rights themselves. Nobody can, and will, do this for them. The programmes of Muslims in Bosnia and India, the persecution of Kashmiris by the Indian Army and the brutalisation of Palestinians by the Israelis would continue, without invoking even a murmur of protest from those who profess themselves to be the champions of human rights and moral values. The Muslims themselves have to fight for their causes. They themselves have to struggle and help each other in securing their legitimate rights. The current disarray in their ranks that makes up the hallmark of the Ummah today has to go away at once if they want to survive as respectable people. They have to recognise their causes as the common goals and work unitedly to secure their rights. United, we can defend ourselves and be respectable nations; divided, we would go down as enslaved people. The indifference to which Kashmiris have been treated so far both by the governments and media of the Muslim world makes a sad, rather an alarming, commentary on their sensitivity to secure and promote the interests of the Ummah. Even the Islamic organisations have been found deplorably wanting in this regard. It took almost full three years for the IOC to wake up to the miseries of the Kashmiris and it was only recently that it decided to send a fact-finding mission to Kashmir, which has been promptly refused entry by India in the Valley for understandable reasons. We should know this: if today it is Kashmir, Bosnia, the Palestinians or the Indian Muslims, tomorrow it could be the turn of some other part of the Ummah. Therefore, unity among ourselves to defend our interests is now an inescapable imperative. Otherwise, our enemies will pick on us one by one and cut us into pieces.

Already, they have succeeded in driving wedges and cleavages in our ranks. They would now try to further divide us to suit their interests. We have to be on our guards. The Ummah is passing through trying times. The new global realities have brought grave threats to the very survival of Muslims. These need to be met promptly. The time is running out. We have to pull ourselves out of the domain of rhetoric and do something concrete. For too long, our people have listened to passionate harangues on Muslim unity. They have no more patience for such talk. They now expect their

leaderships to do something tangible. They want them to rise above petty differences, national rivalries and personal conflicts.

The dice has been cast. Either we have to live as respectable people; or go down as slaves. There is now no other choice for us. The sooner we realise this the better. If we fail to do that, the posterity will never forgive us.

IRAN

Improved Relations Sought With Tunisia, Morocco

93AS0787A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
19 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Rashid Khashshanah: "Iran Tries To Make Up for Losing Algeria by Improving Relations With Tunisia and Morocco"]

[Text] Iran has been making concerted diplomatic efforts to improve its relations with the Maghreb Union countries since Algeria decided to sever its relations with Tehran last month.

Algeria was the Iranians' "favorite friend" in the Arab Maghreb because it had played a major role in the treaty dividing the Shatt-al-Arab, signed in 1975 by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the former shah of Iran, and Saddam Husayn, Iraq's vice president at the time, and because it "engineered" the release in 1981 of the U.S. hostages held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. But things have changed now and it seems that these relations are moving in a different direction whereas Iranian-Moroccan and Iranian-Tunisian relations are improving. The Iranians feel bitter about the estrangement with Algeria "because Algeria has been not only a gate to the Arab Maghreb, but also a bridge to all Third World countries," according to what one Iranian diplomat has told AL-HAYAH. Tehran has been stressing that it has not chosen this new situation, but that the situation "has developed as a result of the unilateral reduction of the number of diplomats and severance of relations."

Whereas informed Algerian sources have denied to AL-HAYAH what has been reported about the presence of Arab mediation to mend the bridges between Tehran and Algiers, Western diplomats have found it unlikely that this crisis will be "cooled" in the coming phase because "it is still at its apex, especially in light of the escalating struggle inside Algeria." These diplomats believe that the statements that Algerian War Veterans Minister Brahim Chibout made in Baghdad last Tuesday and in which he attacked Iran severely "show that the possibilities of pacification are still remote."

In contrast, Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's government seems to be interested in improving relations with both Morocco and Tunisia in order to make up for losing Algeria.

Even though the Iranian Foreign Ministry emphasizes that strengthening relations with the Arab Maghreb countries falls within a general framework called "establishing distinguished relations with all Islamic countries," the increasing interest in Morocco, Tunisia, and Mauritania has assumed new dimensions since the Algerian "stronghold" was lost.

For the first time since the shah's administration, Iran appointed an ambassador to Morocco at a time that coincided with the deterioration of its relations with Algeria at the end of last year. Morocco responded to the "goodwill initiative" and King Hassan II received the new Iranian ambassador at the end of January 1993, thus ending the 14-year estrangement that started between the two countries when the new regime assumed power in Tehran.

Moroccan-Iranian relations were severed in 1979, when the shah was received in Morocco, and they got worse when Tehran's government recognized the Polisario government at the peak of the Algerian-Iranian honeymoon.

If observers believe that the resumption of diplomatic relations, which is the official fruit of visits by Iranian envoys to Morocco in recent years, have put past disagreements within the context of "let bygones be bygones" and have led to the total normalization of relations, then Tehran attaches a regional dimension to improving its relations with Rabat. Within this context, Tehran appointed three months ago a resident of Morocco as its ambassador to Nouakchott.

Diplomatic sources assert that the Maghreb countries display some sort of caution in responding to the Iranian wishes so Algeria, which is a member of the Maghreb Union, will not be angered and because these countries believe that there is some truth to the accusation that Tehran tries to "export the revolution."

The Tunisian-Iranian relations can be considered a model of the slow improvement in the Maghreb countries' dealing with the extensive Iranian effort to open up to the region. In 1991, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati met with Habib Boulares [as published], his Tunisian counterpart (and the current Chamber of Deputies speaker), on the peripheries of the UN General Assembly meetings in New York. The two men then announced the decisions of their two governments to resume their diplomatic relations, which had been severed in 1986 when Tunisia accused Iran of helping Tunisian fundamentalists to seize power. The resumed diplomatic relations helped the flow of Iranian government and unofficial figures and delegations into Tunisia in the past two years. The two countries' rapprochement was crowned with the announcement about and the appointment of a Tunisian ambassador to Tehran at the end of last year.

Meanwhile, improved relations have included the economic sector with the conclusion of a Tunis-Tehran

accord to export \$70 million worth of Tunisian phosphate to Iran. It is also expected that Iranian businessmen will visit Tunisia shortly to familiarize themselves with investment opportunities.

Within this context, AL-HAYAH has learned that Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahya's scheduled visit to Tehran has been postponed for a time because of the minister's prior commitments. Ben Yahya had received two years ago an official invitation from 'Ali Akbar Velayati, his Iranian counterpart, to visit Tehran. A date was set for the visit but it has been postponed for technical reasons and no new date has been set. Consultations are currently underway between the two governments to agree on a convenient date.

In a related area, Iran has not appointed a new ambassador to Tunisia even though Tunisian Ambassador Ismail Hamdan [as published] has been exercising his duties in Tehran for months. AL-HAYAH has learned that the Iranian Foreign Ministry nominated an ambassador to Tunisia some time ago. But the Tunisian authorities refused to accredit him. A diplomat at the Iranian Embassy, which is run by Charge d'Affaires Gholam Fahemi, has assured AL-HAYAH that Tehran hasn't nominated another ambassador since.

These interactions reflect the slow pace of improvement in the Tunisian-Iranian relations, and also in the Moroccan-Iranian relations.

Moreover, Libyan-Iranian relations have maintained their level. These are Tehran's firmest relations at all levels with a Maghreb country. However, Iranian diplomats assert that Tehran is wagering on developing "friendship" with Tunis and Rabat because of their political importance and their growing regional role. But these efforts are running into an undeclared caution that makes it difficult to make up for the lost Algerian "ally" in the near future.

Terrorist Teams Allegedly Sent To Europe

*93AS0786A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
21 Apr 93 p 2*

[Article: "Iranian Opposition Speaks of Arrival of Assassination Teams to France and Germany"]

[Text] Paris, Bonn—Iranian opposition sources abroad have said that Tehran has dispatched no less than two assassination teams to France and Germany to liquidate a number of opponents of the Iranian regime who live in the two countries.

A number of Iranian opposition figures have confirmed that they have been told by the German and French police agencies to be careful and cautious about assassination attempts that may be made against them by teams dispatched by Tehran to the two countries for the purpose.

According to these sources, the "assassination list" includes a number of members of the shah's family and of Mojahedin-e Khalq Movement representatives and no less than four prominent Iranian writers and poets in these two countries.

The French police have advised a number of Iranian opposition figures to postpone a meeting they have customarily held every two weeks at a Paris restaurant until further notice. French and German police agencies declined to either deny or confirm these reports. A police source in Bonn said, "Such issues should not be discussed publicly."

However, sources in Paris note that the new French Government, headed by Eduard Balladur, is taking special precautionary steps in preparation for trying four Iranians, including two diplomats, on the charge of assassinating the last prime minister of the shah's era (Shahpur Bakhtiari) in a Paris suburb in 1991.

Since 1989, more than 40 prominent Iranian figures have been assassinated in 12 European countries by assassination teams alleged to have come from Tehran.

The latest assassination took place in Rome last month, claiming the life of Mohammad Hoseyn Naqdi, Mojahedin-e Khalq's special envoy in the Italian capital, who was assassinated at his office. Last winter, four leaders of an Iranian Kurdish political faction were assassinated at a Berlin restaurant.

The Iranian Government has steadily denied any connection with the assassinations carried out abroad. However, it has not responded to date to French requests for the interrogation of three Iranian ministers within the context of the ongoing investigation concerning the circumstances engulfing Bakhtiari's death. Moreover, Iran has refused to extradite Hoseyn Sheikh Attar, a prominent former Iranian official who is wanted by France for his connection with Bakhtiari's death.

In private conversations, Iranian officials say that these assassinations were perhaps carried out by revolutionary organizations that use Tehran as their headquarters and that do not adhere to government policies in their activities. However, French and German investigators reject this explanation, noting that the large number of assassinations, including the assassination of no less than 20 Iranian figures, especially in Turkey, makes the hypothesis of "unofficial organizations" an unlikely hypothesis.

Decision on Territorial Waters Causes Concern

93AS0789A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
22 Apr 93 pp 1, 4

[Article by Hasin al-Bunyan: "Iranian Territorial Waters Decision Complicates Tackling of Pending Issues"]

[Text] Riyadh, London—Iran was eager yesterday to disperse the fears aroused by its parliament's decision to

delineate its territorial waters—a decision which warns of opening thorny dossiers—and have tried to justify the step and to alleviate its consequences.

High-level Iranian diplomatic sources in the Gulf region have told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the law passed by the Iranian Consultative Assembly will not affect the course of the current talks and contacts between Iran and the UAE on the disputed Abu-Musa Island and that the Iranian parliament will not adopt resolutions conflicting with the policies and positions of the Iranian Government. This government is seriously pursuing a settlement of the dispute over Abu Musa Island, Tunb al-Kubra, and Tunb al-Sughra through bilateral talks and contacts between Iranian and UAE [United Arab Emirates] officials.

These sources have emphasized that the law passed by the Iranian Islamic Consultative Assembly does not deal with or touch on the three islands and has no connection that could influence the talks on these islands. These talks have not been suspended and they continue to be conducted through diplomatic channels. Tehran awaits a UAE delegation to resume the talks now that an Iranian delegation visited the UAE last year.

The sources noted that the law touches on sovereignty over the territorial waters delineated in accordance with international accords and treaties. Therefore, the law passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly does not mention the three islands by name.

There are those who believe that the Islamic Consultative Assembly (parliament) has made it impossible for the Iranian Government to negotiate on changing the legal status of any of the islands controlled by Iran in the Gulf and in the Sea of Oman. This is because the new law approved by the parliament unanimously reasserts Iran's absolute sovereignty over all islands located "within and outside" Iran's territorial waters. Moreover, the law states that Iran's territorial waters extend to a distance of 12 miles (22 km) in each of the Gulf and the Sea of Oman.

Application of the new law coincides with preparations being made by Iran to stage the biggest military exercises witnessed by the Gulf region. Nearly 100,000 troops, 80 warships, and more than 100 military aircraft will take part in the military exercise that will be staged under the name of the Fourth Victory.

The new law replaces an old law that was issued prior to the Iranian revolution and that delineated Iran's territorial waters at a distance of 50 miles in the Gulf of Oman. However, the new border will be calculated as of the baseline of the 24 islands controlled by Iran and located within the area extending from the Upper Gulf to the Strait of Hormuz.

The law does not mention the affected islands by name. However, it clearly includes the islands of Abu Musa, Tunb al-Kubra, and Tunb al-Sughra. It is understood from the new law that the special legal status Abu Musa

Island had within the context of the accord concluded by Iran and al-Shariqah in 1971 is no longer valid and that the island has now become Iranian territory.

As for Tunb al-Kubra and Tunb al-Sughra, which are being demanded by Ra's al-Khaymah Emirate, the new law reaffirms contents of the law issued prior to the revolution which states that the two islands are "part of Iran's territory."

The new law means that Tehran's government will not be able to enter into negotiation with any foreign power on the future of the three islands. The only topic that can be discussed will be the legal status of the UAE citizens who live and work at Abu Musa.

The new law was promulgated two weeks after Iranian patrols had detained a Kuwaiti fishing boat within what Tehran characterized as "our territorial waters." This law provides a framework for negotiations between Iran and each of Kuwait and Iraq on delineating its continental shelf with the two countries.

In this regard, Iran has concluded treaties with the other countries that have coastlines along the Gulf and the Sea of Oman.

As a signatory of the various treaties connected with the sea law, Iran continues to acknowledge the right of other countries' ships to cross its territorial waters. However, the new law empowers the Iranian navy to intercept and inspect any ship crossing these waters. The same applies to aircraft flying over these waters.

But the new law also puts an end to the demand Iran has made intermittently to a number of other islands controlled by Oman and the UAE.

Since the mid-1970's, Iran has been demanding that the Gulf, characterized by its shallow waters that are no more than 90 meters deep, be given a special status within the international sea law. However, the theory of a "closed sea" has been rejected to date in the international talks on reforming the sea law—talks that have been going on for nearly 20 years.

Yazdi Announces Arrest of Major Hezbollah Figure

93AS0786B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
21 Apr 93 p 4

[Article: "Jalaleddin Farisi, Hezbollah Theoretician, Arrested"]

[Text] Tehran, London—Iranian Chief Magistrate Mohammad Yazdi announced yesterday that one of Hezbollah's two main theoreticians has been arrested and charged with murder.

Revolutionary Guard members arrested Jalaleddin Farisi last month in what seems to have been a link in the chain of struggle for power in Tehran.

The 54-year-old Farisi was one of Khomeyni's three main advisers. He also was the main planner for the concept of Hezbollah in Iran and Lebanon.

In 1980, Farisi was just about to win the first presidential election but he was forced to withdraw after it was discovered that his father was born an Afghan citizen.

Farisi was then elected a member of the Islamic Majles. But his influence began to dwindle gradually because of his disagreement with President Hashemi-Rafsanjani. If convicted on the charge, Farisi will face the death sentence.

Over 1 Million Participate in Entrance Exams

93LA0046H London KEYHAN in Persian 29 Apr 93
p 2

[Text] The national entrance exams for Iran's universities and higher schools will be held Thursday and Friday this week in Tehran and major cities, with the participation of 1,187,800 million high-school graduates. Of the participants in this year's exams, 39 percent are women, 188,000 will be in the mathematics group, 138,000 will be in the experimental group, more than 478,000 high-school graduates will be in the humanities, and 17,000 will be in the arts group. The number of applicants for university admission in Iran is 10 percent higher than last year. The youngest applicant for university admission in this year's exam is a girl born in 1359 [21 Mar 1980-20 Mar 1981] and the oldest participant is an old man from Hamadan, age 71. One of the interesting administration sites for this year's exam is the Iran Tulip and Nasturtium Society of Sisters Joined Together Company.

A total of 2.3 million test booklets are to be distributed among the applicants in Tehran and other cities. The booklets include general and specialized questions.

At 0800 Thursday this week the first test will be given to the experimental group, and at 1400 the same day tests will be given to the mathematics and arts groups, and on Friday applicants in the humanities will take their tests.

The results of the first phase of the test will be announced early in the month of Tir [22 Jun-22 Jul]. Initially, three times the number of names needed by this year's capacity in the universities, which is 130,000 people, will be announced. The second phase of the university entrance exams will be given to the arts group on 18 Tir [9 Jul], and the second phase of the entrance exams for the other three groups will be given on 7 and 8 Mordad [29-30 Jul].

The entrance exams for applicants to university graduate study, in which there will be 92,000 participants, will be given at the same time as the national entrance exams.

Former Diplomat Analyzes Nationalist Trends

93AS0785 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 18 Apr 93 p 2

[Interview with Ja'far Raid, former Iranian diplomat, publisher, and observer, by Hazim Saghiyah; place and date not given: "Iran Is Not Retreating Toward Persianism But Experiencing Moment of Confused Identity"]

[Text] Hazim Saghiyah interviewed the former Iranian diplomat who later decided to devote himself to observing Iranian affairs, including publishing AL-MUJAZ, an extremely beneficial reference in this connection. The following interview deals with some political and ideological elements with which the present-day Iran is seething.

[Saghiyah] It has been noticed recently that official preparations for celebration of the night on which the Koran was revealed and for the Jerusalem Day have not been successful. In contrast, there has been such broad mass participation in the Zoroastrian Night of Fires that the authorities have warned against firecrackers and fireworks.

Do these signs and symbols signal some sort of retrogression from the Islamism launched by Khomeyni and a return to a Persian Zoroastrianism for which the Islamic movement had censured the shah?

[Raid] There certainly is no tendency to return to Zoroastrianism, which has shrunk. There are no more than 120,000 Zoroastrians in the entire world. There are a few tens of thousands in India and a few more tens of thousands in Iran. The reason is that Zoroastrianism accepts as followers only those who are born to Zoroastrian parents. In the Iran of the shahs, there emerged a movement of intellectuals who wanted to join Zoroastrianism but Zoroastrian clergymen would not agree. There also emerged a reformist Zoroastrian movement whose seeds were planted in the constitutional tendency which existed early in the century. But this movement was not fated to succeed, either.

[Saghiyah] What is intended here are the Persian symbols, not Zoroastrianism per se.

[Raid] A return to the pre-Islamic Iran is not in the picture. Iranians are intimately associated with Islam. What is happening is to turn the Iranian civilization into the object of interest and development. Very few people call for reviving Zoroastrianism and for purging Farsi of Arabic words. Such people amount to no more than a few dozen intellectuals, especially in Tajikistan because Tajiks believe that their land was the cradle of Zoroastrianism.

[Saghiyah] But it is noticed that since President Rafsanjani's wing triumphed, the regime has been increasingly tolerant of the Naw-Ruz celebrations.

[Raid] Iranian national holidays, such as Naw-Ruz, are a normal thing. Previously, they celebrated the onset of winter and the onset of summer when the seasons were

not as clearly defined as they are now. The onset of winter was the carnival holiday. The start of summer, or the hot season, was Naw-Ruz which is, perhaps, older than Zoroastrianism. But now, Naw-Ruz encompasses Islamic verses that are read in Arabic, such as "O Ye who changes conditions, change ours for the better." So there is a mixture of customs and symbols.

But people's increased interest in these nationalistic manifestations is, in my opinion, a political weapon used against the government which cannot stop people from displaying these manifestations. It is the same as when young men grew beards in the shah's days as a symbol of protest. Beards were not confined to Muslims but included Armenian and Zoroastrian young men who prayed in mosques, especially the leftists among them.

[Saghiyah] Culturally, what do you say to the interest given to Arabic in Iran and to the interest given to spreading Farsi among Muslims of the former Soviet Union?

[Raid] Arabic is growing in Iran currently and Arabic magazines and newspapers are issued there. This language is exploited at present to establish relations with Arab factions who are opposed to their governments and who have their press and media. The same applies to Turkish, which is exploited to strengthen relations with the Azeris and with ethnic groups of the former Soviet Union that use Turkic as their language. But greater attention is devoted to the Farsi language and literature in view of the relations with Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and some other Central Asia countries which have Farsi-speaking minorities.

The truth is that it is not the government that projects slogans and adopts policies connected with Iranian nationalism. Rather, the government follows, involuntarily, the people's tendency in this regard. For example, the anthem of the Islamic Republic consisted during the revolution of Arabic verses that the people did not understand. So it has been replaced by a Farsi anthem that speaks of the rise of the sun and some such things. This is not an anti-Islamic movement. It is a movement that grows stronger daily and that seeks to prevent the authorities from fusing the Persian nationality and Iranian culture in what they call Islamic revolutionary slogans. In the past 14 years, the people have constantly won in this regard and the government has backed down gradually on objectives incompatible with the Iranian people's tendencies.

[Saghiyah] Where does Khomeyni's ideology, if we may use the term, stand in Iran now, and where does the opposition, represented by former Interior Minister Mohtashemi, stand vis-a-vis all this?

[Raid] It is my opinion that there is not much difference between Rafsanjani and Mohtashemi. However, Mohtashemi says: I was the disciple closest to Khomeyni. This is why I have been hit. Mohtashemi believes that he is the fittest to lead the country. I do not think that there is more to this than personal ambition and the

desire to have the United States contact this one instead of that one and to support one at the other's expense.

Contrary to what people believe, there is no Khomeyni ideology. Khomeyni was hostile to the shah's regime because of its religious political tendencies. As a religious authority, Khomeyni saw that he was above the law, and thus proceeded to fight the shah when he, Khomeyni, was in exile in Iraq. He developed his concept on fighting the shah on the basis of the "jurisprudent's governorship" and the republican system. This is how an authoritarian mixture emerged.

Regarding the future, I believe that the authority on which Khomeyni relied to rise to the position of the "governing jurisprudent" will lose its past authority. The government will operate on the basis of his "creed" as there are other governments that embrace certain creeds. This government will adapt its measures to Khomeyni's legal opinions, and the traditionalist Shiite Iranian factions will carry on, doing what they like and wish to do.

[Saghiyah] At one stage, Iraqi President Saddam Husayn retreated from pan-Arabism to an Iraqi nationalism that derives its symbols from Babylon, Assyria, Nineveh, and so forth. Do you find similarities here?

[Raid] There is no retreating in Iran where they are proud of a deep-rooted civilization that has mixed totally with the Islamic civilization. There is in Iran an immense and unprecedented tendency toward the Iranian culture. During the past 14 years in which people have been denied foreign books, movies, and other items, the people have turned to reading and to local books and music and began to develop them. The Iranian people, especially their intellectuals, want Iran to maintain this cultural distinction instead of the revolutionary distinction and instead of exporting the revolution, and so forth. This is what the people are proud of and what they believe is the thing that cultivates friendships with other peoples, including the Arab peoples. Historically, the Iranians have mingled with all kinds of ethnic groups and Iran has always been a crossing point. In this sense, Iranian culture is tolerant of other cultures.

[Saghiyah] Also in connection with looking for similarities, Turkish nationalist awareness, which climaxed with Ataturk, grew concurrently with awareness of the empire's enormous burdens. But this [nationalist] tendency did not triumph finally until al-Sharif Husayn launched his rebellion against the sultanate.

To what degree has the war with Iraq, and consequently with the Arabs at the time, played a role in reviving and strengthening the Iranian nationalist awareness?

[Raid] In Iran, a similar movement was launched, with the support of the governments of the two deceased shahs. But in Reza Shah's time, the movement was confined to writers advocating Persian nationalism. In wake of World War II and of licensing party pluralism, an Iranian nationalist movement emerged, emulating Nazism to a large degree and calling for a greater Iran

from the Jayhun River to the Euphrates and incorporating the Kurds as an essential part of the Iranians and as pure Aryans. A small number of young men rallied behind this movement because the government permitted them to operate freely versus the leftist parties. But this movement did not gain strong popularity. There are now some manifestations, such as the Babak-e Khorramdin faction. Babak is a man who called in the Abbasid era for reviving Mazdaism, Manichaeism, and other creeds. But excluding some statements, there is no evidence of the presence and influence of this movement.

As for the war with Iraq, the regime tried to assert that the official Iraq was a renegade from Islam. This regime did not try to make it an ethnic war. All the slogans used were Islamic slogans, such as "we go to the fronts on our way to get to Karbala." The major [military] operations were given Islamic names, and so were the armies. But the people defended Iran and the soil of the homeland without agreeing to expansion. However, the people, while defending the country, did not have the same enthusiasm as the regime. It was their opinion that there was an aggression by Saddam, not by the Arabs, especially since they saw many Arabs supporting them and found many Arabs denouncing Saddam's slogans about the "Magi" and so forth.

SRI LANKA

Repatriation of Tamils: EPRLF Resolutions Outlined

93AS0725A Colombo VIRAKESARI in Tamil 1 Mar 93
p 2

[EPRLF Resolutions in Congress: "Government of India and Tamil Nadu State Government Should Immediately Stop the Repatriation of Sri Lankan Tamil and Muslim Refugees"]

[Text]

India's Central Government and Tamil Nadu Government Should Immediately Stop Repatriation of Tamil Refugees

The resolutions passed at the EPRLF's [Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front] second congress:

The government of Sri Lanka should evolve a political solution for the problem of the Tamils and place it for consideration before all the representatives, hold negotiations and arrive at a decisive solution. The government should act effectively, fully realizing that military actions cannot solve the racial issue and formulate a plan, acceptable to the Tamil people; it should also protect and preserve in tact the rights and privileges given to the Tamil people as per the Sri Lanka-India pact.

Sinhalese Settlements

One of the important causes for the ethnic problem is the government's preplanned Sinhalese migration. By bringing in the Sinhalese people to the traditional Tamil areas where they are a majority, the Tamils are being reduced to a minority community.

Sinhalese settlements are coming up with ulterior motives for dividing north-east provinces, which are the traditional home for the Tamil people. Therefore, all this migration of the Sinhalese people should be stopped forthwith, and the settlements that came into being, for the purpose of dividing north-east provinces, should be removed.

Declare Temples as Sacred Places

The Koneswarar temple at Triconamalai and the Thirukeswarar temple at Mannar are hundreds of years old with rich historic pasts.

They are famous temples, not only in Sri Lanka but also to the people of the Hindu religion in India. To them they are sacred places of worship. But these two temples are under the control of the military authorities. The Thirukeswarar temple is in very bad shape because of the negligence of the military people.

The military camp stationed at Koneswarar temple at Triconamali should be moved to some other place. The Koneswarar temple and the mountain area and the Thiruketheswarar temple should be declared as sacred places of worship.

Tamil Youths in Prisons

Many hundreds of youngsters, boys and girls, have been kept in jails and military camps for years without any kind of inquiry or hearing, after the clash with Tigers in June 1990.

Many parents of these boys and girls are not aware where exactly they are detained and jailed. So these parents should be notified about their kids' locations. The cases of these youngsters should be examined and they should be released at once.

Muslim Migration

In 1991, the Tamil Liberation Tigers drove out the Muslim people from their homeland in the northern province, without any of their belongings, and today they are in a miserable plight without a place to reside, without any jobs, and struggling for survival and food. They are now in the refugee camps in the southern parts of the island. They should be brought back to their original areas for settling down; new industries should be started to provide them with jobs, ensuring a peaceful life to them. The EPRLF [Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front] will give its full cooperation for the rehabilitation of the Muslims.

India-Sri Lanka Pact

The India-Sri Lanka pact was made between India and Sri Lanka. India gave a guarantee to the Tamil parties that the Sri Lankan government would fully implement the provisions of the pact.

As per the provision of the pact, a north-eastern provincial council was formed and it was functioning. But due to a conspiracy between the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lanka government, the provincial government was dissolved. And the Sri Lankan Government has not given powers to the provincial councils as of today. Today the pact has been put in a deep freeze. Under the pretext of mounting a campaign to annihilate the Tamil Tigers, the Sri Lankan Government has been continuously carrying on a premeditated war against the Tamil people.

Therefore the Indian Government should assure us that the Sri Lankan Government would carry out the provisions of the pact in a correct way.

The Government of India should effectively contribute to the solution of the Sri Lankan ethnic issue, says a resolution passed at the second congress of the EPRLF.

UN Council Needed To Intervene

The resolution further states that India, as a powerful country which has undertaken so far to solve the racial issue, should take up the cause of the Sri Lankan Tamils and other related political solutions at the meetings of the United Nations General Assembly and other international councils, as India has a responsibility and a duty in this regard.

Indian Government Should Stop It

In the north-east province there is a continuous war going on; as a result of this, thousands of people are being killed, thousands have become refugees. Because of this war, fishing, agriculture, and industries have been severely damaged. The refugees from India could not reach their own places of residence and have had to stay in the refugee camps.

At the same, these refugees have also to face the restrictions imposed by the Indian camp officials.

At these refugee camps there are no medical clinics, no educational facilities for the kids at all. They have been denied these facilities. The refugees are given very meagre relief aid. Considering the hardships these people are made to undergo, it can be said that the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees do not return to Sri Lanka on their own volition but due to the imposed restrictions by Indian officials.

Taking into account all the above mentioned factors, a political solution should be devised to ensure a suitable and honorable atmosphere for smooth return of the Sri Lankan refugees from India. Until then, the Indian Government and Tamil Nadu Government should stop repatriation of the Sri Lankan refugees.

Ethnic Conflicts: Article Recommends Federalism

93AS0725C Colombo VIRAKESARI in Tamil
10 Mar 93 p 2

[Commentary: "Unification May Be Achieved Through Federalism"]

[Text]

Unification Possible Through Federalism

At the contemporary Sri Lankan political forum, political parties presented many proposals for solving the ethnic problems. Those proposals were rejected because of so many social and political reasons.

The federal type of model patterned after India was suggested at the forum. Is a federal solution capable of solving the racial problems of Sri Lanka? What exactly federalism means will have to be explained to the people. With a strong federation, it is possible to bring about unification through public opinion. What is meant by federalism?

Federalism is an administrative system, made up of several smaller states that unitedly function under a central government. Based on this setup, the state and central governments establish an agreement and this is called federalism.

Professor Hamilton in his book, "Federation Reports" defines federalism as a union of several states to create a new state. Political scholar Dicey says there should be two basic points to bring about a federation. They are as follows:

One: Basically there should be a feeling that we are all people of one nation on the basis of race, geographic area, and history.

Two: People's willingness to work together.

The powers of the central government and the state governments are clearly stated under separate headings. The central government will keep subjects like defense, foreign policy, and finance. The state governments will have subjects like law and order, education, culture, etc. There is also concurrent list that details subjects jointly under the central and state governments.

In these matters the parliament can legislate only after consultation with all the states. In the federal political system, the central parliament and legislative assemblies have the power to enact laws.

All the laws passed by the state legislature will come into force only after the governor gives his consent. If there is a dispute between states or a state and the center, there is a provision for setting up an impartial court to examine the case.

The central government will supervise financial regulations and states' defenses. There is provision for setting up an upper house of parliament in the federation.

Whenever the central government hastily passes any bill, the upper house of the parliament will serve as a debating forum for delaying the bill. This upper house members are chosen, not on the basis of the population or area. Intellectuals, achievers in various fields of activity will be there, as members.

These are the necessary ingredients that contribute to the success of the system of federalism:

—The states that join the federation do not give up their individuality, while cooperating with the central government. This is an important point to be noted.

—It is essential that the state government freely function in promoting education, culture, language, economic affairs, and politics.

—The central government and the state governments should be in agreement on geographical areas—that is, contiguous areas. This will strengthen the national integrity. In India there are 18 states situated nearer to one another. In India, the states of Punjab and Kashmir, are situated far away from the central government, hence there is talk of partition.

In Switzerland, there are 22 states bound together like a snail's round shape, and that seems to be the secret of their success.

—In common interest, the states should join together and work for common good and they should be able to work alone for the good of the people of state too.

—People should be politically knowledgeable, with basic faith in democratic traditions. The administrative system is a difficult process. More than one law, administration, elections, etc., are common in the federal system.

—There should not be any tendency to break away from the federal system. If this feeling is there, federalism will be broken. There should be patriotism and loyalty among the people.

—There should be a clear-cut division of powers between the states and the center.

—There should be a supreme court to protect federalism without breaking it up.

These conditions are necessary for the success of federalism. It will be futile to think of federalism if there are impediments to broaden powers and also the tendency to break away from the federation.

The Sri Lanka national ethnic problem has been there for so long for so many reasons. At a time when political parties have lost their faith in the Parliamentary select committee, so many parties have welcomed the idea of federalism. In the 1940s, Sinhalese and Tamil leaders proposed the federation idea. S.W.R.T. Bandaranayaka, Rev. Father Selva, and others placed broad-based federal ideas before the people.

The constitution of the provincial councils, has so many practical defects, according to the Tamil and Muslim leaders. Grant of additional powers to the governors, legal barriers to the actions in matters, assigned both to central and state governments, the central parliament's power to dissolve the provincial councils without their consent and the center assuming the powers of the provincial councils, etc., are the practical defects inherent in the system.

This federal system has been found to be successfully working in the United States of America, Switzerland, Canada, India, Maldives, etc.

Therefore, all parties should give up their culture of moving pawns on the political chessboard and offer to cooperate in finding a solution to the ethnic problem of Sri Lanka.

H.M. Anwar Ali

Marudurkkani Calls for True Tamil, Muslim Unity

93AS0725B Colombo VIRAKESARI in Tamil 9 Mar 93 p 2

[Article: "Tamils and Muslims Should Put Forth a Mutually Acceptable Proposal Together"]

[Text]

Tamils and Muslims Must Unite and Formulate an Acceptable Solution, Says Muslim Leader Marudurkkani

Sri Lanka Muslim Congress Senior Vice President Marudurkkani in a statement has said that Tamil and Muslim forces should unite and formulate an acceptable solution.

He referred to the interview of Tamil Liberty Tigers Chief Prabhakaran by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The Muslim leader in his statement said: "For the first time, Prabhakaran has clarified his stand regarding the Muslims." He said: "The Muslims have a special culture of their own and uniqueness. Their individuality and land rights will be protected. By living together with the Tamils, their economic and social life will be nice and better." So said Prabhakaran in that interview.

He may think that this standpoint will be the basis for reviving the old ties between the Tamils and Muslims, mutually respecting each other's rights and live together. In the BBC interview the chief of the Tigers said that Sinhalese racists and selfish Muslim leaders made much of the differences between the Tamils and the Muslims and depicted it as enmity. The Muslims could not accept this viewpoint at all. This is because, it has become a habit and tradition with the Tigers to commit atrocities against the Muslims and then put the blame on the Sinhalese racists.

Sinhalese racists are the common enemy to the Muslims and the Tamils. Those racists and self-centered Muslim politicians might have joined hands to further aggravate the differences between the Tamils and Muslims in order to promote and protect their own interests in the east. As if to encourage such a situation, during their honeymoon days, the Tigers associated with them closely and the world has not forgotten it.

Tamil ethnic groups' efforts and strategies are well known to the Muslim community. They set up Muslim minorities to fight against Sinhalese racists, and the Tamil racists were set up to suppress the Muslim minorities. The Tamil racists should not think of dominating over the Muslims, as the Sinhalese want to dominate over the Tamils.

The chief of the Tigers says that there is a danger of Tamil-Muslim rioting in Jaffna and that is why the Muslims were asked to move out of Jaffna temporarily and that too was done only to protect them. What does Prabhakaran try to justify by the statement?

Even if the Tamil-Muslim rioting really were to come about, are the Tigers so powerless to prevent it? The Tigers were credited with giving hell to the Sri Lankan army, which event is said to have shocked the entire Indian sub-continent. Is it so difficult for such heroic Tigers to give protection to the Muslims living in a remote corner in Jaffna? If the Muslims were to believe the Tigers chief's talk about goodwill, faith in good relations between Muslims and Tamils, Muslim's uniqueness, their right to protection, land rights, etc., firstly the Tigers should honestly confess the wrong method of approach they adopted in respect to the Muslims and their unjust attacks on the Muslim community.

Though we have faith in President Rana Singh Prema Dasa's select committee report and eagerly look forward to it, we question whether the Sinhalese ethnic elements will come forward with a political solution that is acceptable to the Tamil and Muslim communities.

The ethnic parties, as long as they are with political opportunists to capture political power, United National party and the freedom party are not coming up with a solution acceptable to the Tamil and Muslim communities.

But in case, in the current atmosphere, if the Tamils and Muslims join together and make an appeal to the select committee, Sinhalese ethnic elements may not be able to evade or those elements may be exposed in international forums.

Therefore, whatever happens, it will be fine if only the Tamil forces and the Muslim forces join in a scheme that mutually respecting each other's individuality, right to protection, and regional rights, and work in a joint north-east provincial council or in an anticipated federal setup that is acceptable to us and the country as a whole. Serious thought should be given to such a goal and we all should work for it said Muslim leader Marudurkkani.

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